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Democratic Front Condemns Kosovo Violence

AU3101201490 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Declaration issued by the Democratic Front of Albania—date and place not given]

[Text] What has been happening these days in Kosovo—the savage police violence against an entire people, the clubbings, murders, and the bloodshed—have severely disturbed and deeply affected all Albanians.

The savagery and barbarianism of the Serbian chauvinists are unimaginable to our nation and to the European continent. They are using violence against a defenseless population that has taken to the streets to demand democracy, equality, and humane treatment, values for which all the civilized world is striving.

The policy of terror employed by Serbian chauvinism in Kosovo is condemned by all progressive forces of international public opinion. It has been strongly condemned by the peoples of Yugoslavia itself, numerous democratic organizations, the press, and by Yugoslav public opinion.

In the name of all the Albanian people, the Democratic Front of Albania demands that an end be put immediately to violence, terror, and murders, as well as to the state of emergency in Kosovo. It is in the interest of Yugoslavia itself, its stability and progress, to seek not the road of terror but the road of democratic dialogue, and to come to an agreement with the Albanians, who deserve democratic freedoms and rights on an equal basis with those enjoyed by the other peoples in Yugoslavia. The Albanians are demanding no more than others, but neither will they accept less.

The normalization of the situation in Kosovo, achieved through dialogue, tolerance, and respect for the freedoms and human rights of the Albanians, would not only be in the interest of Yugoslavia, but would contribute considerably to creating good relations between the people's Socialist Republic of Albania and the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia, as well as to positive developments in the Balkans.

Expressing their concern about the fate of their brethren in Kosovo and their profound grief at the blood shed once again in the past few days, the Albanian people are indignantly and resolutely demanding an immediate end to the violence and terror in Kosovo and that democratic ways be sought to resolve the problems of Kosovo on the basis of equality and understanding.

Bulgarian Communist Party Congress Continues

Calls for Party Unity

AU3001174590

[Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1600 GMT on 30 January carries a report from Asen Indzhev, at the People's Palace of Culture in Sofia, on the proceedings of the 14th Extraordinary Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP].

Indzhev reports: "During the 2 hours since the report from my colleague at 1500 there have been eight speeches, eight retorts, and one rest interval, during which representatives of the group Bulgarian Road to Europe gathered for a short conference."

Indzhev then summarizes the following speeches:

Ivaylo (Vnepolski), from the Institute of Contemporary Social Theories, stressed that the points at issue were "the fate of the country, the fate of the party." According to Indzhev, he then offered the thesis that "repentance is not sufficient now, the structure has to be broken down, and the BCP must become a left party of a new type," and second, its name must be changed and the party must be disbanded.

Indzhev reports that Rumen Dimitrov, the delegate from Devnya, "spoke about the radical changes needed in the party," stating that "in Devnya the Communists reject outright the centralized structure," that "in the future the activity of the Devnya party organization will develop on the club principle." He added that "the Devnya Municipal BCP Committee gives up its monopoly right of the cadres deciding issues in advance." He also stated that the platform of the workers at the Devnya Chemical is "transition to the market mechanism for the economy and the shutting down of inefficient types of production." Indzhev reports that a worker, Khristo Vulkov, then made a retort, asking "if Dimitrov was aware of how much the operation of the Devnya Chemical Complex costs us," and stressed "the alarming ecological situation in the region."

According to Indzhev, "Trifon Mitev, a delegate from Chirpan, made a call for preservation of party unity, but not the monolithic unity we knew from before 10 November." Indzhev reports that Angel Kondov, "chief assistant at the Higher Machine Building and Electrotechnical Institute in Sofia and delegate from the Studentska Municipality," said that three things were needed for a radical change: "First, the BCP must rethink and express its attitude toward socialism; second, it must be pointed out that in the future the chief force must be the intelligentsia, especially the scientific and technical intelligentsia; and third, there must be a change in the attitude toward power."

Indzhev reports that Georgieva from Popovo then put forward "a number of objections to the proposed draft party statute," but did not have time within the 10-minute limit to put forward her proposals.

After the break, Indzhev reports the session resumed with Georgi Todorov in the chair. A worker, Petur Pavlov, made a retort, including three proposals: "First, a 70 percent cut in the party apparatus; second, for the Politburo members to declare the property they owned; and third, that there should be no primary party organizations in production enterprises."

The next speaker, Indzhev reports, was Asen Zhablenski, chairman of the Medical Academy, delegate from Triaditsa Municipality in Sofia, who stated that "certain party members were feeling growing alarm over the BCP's future, but another section of the party members were not sufficiently worried." He called for the "rejection of a one-sided understanding of certain issues," "adoption of all that is valuable from other socioeconomic doctrines," and "giving universal human values priority over class values."

Indzhev reports that after the speech of Angel Trendafilov, "delegate from Ovcha Kupel and the new director of the Agricultural Institute," "an argument developed over the need for a program for agriculture."

Indzhev reports that the next speaker was Lyubomir Dimitrov, a delegate from Varna and an employee in the Varna Municipal Administration of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, after which Indzhev says that Georgi Naydenov is now making a retort. Naydenov then is heard to ask if Dimitrov's "beautiful words spoken concerning the Ministry of Internal Affairs and especially the State Security relate to Angel Tsanev, Mircho Spasov, Grigor Shopov, and dozens of others," and then asks if the State Security "still acts as the party's fist." The chairman is then heard to ask the speaker to give his name, and he replies: "My name is Georgi Naydenov. I am an active fighter against fascism and capitalism twice over, once with the partisans before 9 September 1944, and a second time as a political prisoner under Todor Zhivkov." Applause then follows, after which Lyuben Dimitrov replies to Naydenov, saying that "I have categorically and clearly expressed my views to the distortions and I can repeat it if you wish." His further comments are drowned by shouting.

Indzhev ends his 11-minute report at 1611 GMT.

Lilov Warns Against 'Suicide'

AU3101115390 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Report by Chavdar Stefanov from 14th Extraordinary Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party in the People's Palace of Culture in Sofia]

[Text] The second morning session continues. It is chaired by Dobri Aleksandrov from Mikhaylovgrad. Vasil Vulov, delegate from Razgrad, is speaking at the moment. Let us return to the first morning session. It was chaired by Petya Yordanova, delegate from Sofia city. Perhaps it was because of her inexperience that remarks from the hall began after the chairman of the

Congress' Secretariat announced that more than 400 delegates have registered to speak and read the names of the 50 delegates who will speak today.

The first morning session heard the declaration of a group of delegates from Plovdiv Oblast to the effect that essential issues are not being discussed, that a real danger of a split exists, as well as the danger that the congress' document could be adopted in a formal manner. After rather continuous remarks Petur Mladenov also addressed his own remarks to the delegates and said that time was being wasted. He urged the delegates to understand that something exceptionally important was at stake—the fate of the party and the fate of Bulgaria—and asked them to conduct the discussion in a responsible manner.

Let us hear parts of the statement by Stefan Prodev [chief editor of NARODNA KULTURA and chairman of the Union of Bulgarian Journalists]:

[Begin Prodev recording] It appears today that the Communists can only make an impression with their work when they have regained the confidence of the people and have openly freed their consciousness of the remnants of the disgraced official ideology, if they have grasped the failure of the traditional party vanity, and most of all, if they have succeeded in convincing the people that the objective truth is more dear to them than the idols of the system.

Unfortunately, such an attitude toward the developments and values is still considered opportunistic. Many party members have still not taken this conclusion to heart. They believe more in crude force than reason. Precisely they, and no one else, are holding back the development of society and the emergence of any new understanding about the party and the socialist ideal. [end recording]

Prodev, and those who spoke after him, set the tone at the morning session. I would describe this tone as radical. The speakers were interrupted by the participants with questions and remarks.

Aleksandur Lilov, delegate from Belogradchik, said at the beginning of his statement that the party is ready to face the forthcoming events and tests from the ideological, political, and cadre points of view. While he was speaking several of the delegates seated in front of me read newspapers and apparently learned from the newspapers what happened yesterday at the congress.

Aleksandur Lilov spoke about several tasks that, according to him, are important. He spoke about what we want to achieve with restructuring, which has begun in our country, what character the party should have in the future, the forthcoming elections, and the dialogue with the other social organizations and movements. I selected a part of his statement, which supplements what I have just said:

[Begin Lilov recording] What party must we be in the future? In this area, as is becoming obvious at this congress, there are still many illusions, much nostalgia and attachment to obsolete values, and a very high degree of radically dogmatic thinking on the part of all of us. All this prevents us from seeing the essence and scope of the problem that we are facing.

We have no reason to deny our 100-year history. How many parties in our country or throughout the world have such capital? We have no reason to engage in self-deprecation or allow others to crucify us. However, as a party, we must reassess and radically renew many things. This applies to the theoretical, political, organizational, moral, and cadre spheres. If we do not do this, we shall not be able to respond to the challenge of our time and the changes that are now taking place in our society, in the most progressive elements of the workers' class, and especially among the youth and the intelligentsia. Furthermore, the question is when are we going to do this. If we do not do it on time, we shall not be spared the fate of the German, Polish, and Czechoslovak parties, not to mention the fate of the Romanian party.

Certain comrades are now raising the slogan about an attack by our party. I think that this is an unrealistic slogan. The state in which the party is and the confidence it enjoys at the moment do not allow it to begin an attack. I think that the correct slogan now is the one about renewal of the party. The correct tactic now is to struggle for renewal, unity, and victory in the forthcoming election in May. [applause] Only if we immediately and really advance toward renewal, preserve our political and ideological unity, and develop an energetic election campaign will our party be able to restore the confidence of the people and will it implement its role as the vanguard of restructuring. The Extraordinary Congress must make the following choice: either a fundamental renewal of the party or partial changes, after which it will undoubtedly lose its best elements, and afterward, also its leading role in society. [applause] [end Lilov recording]

Answering a question directed at him, Aleksandur Lilov said: Please familiarize yourself with the entire truth. Otherwise, there is the danger that we shall commit suicide, something we have been doing in fact in the last 2 days.

Panayot Karakachanov, delegate from Yambol, spoke about the need to fill the blank spots in the history of the party and the country. Stefan Karadzhov from Kurdzhali, noted that the pace of the changes in the country and the party was unsatisfactory. He spoke about the need to reveal the whole truth about the process of restoration, and about the need to produce a clear and specific program on the ethnic issue.

In his statement Academician Kiril Vasilev pointed out that the present congress is a dramatic one, but everything possible should be done to prevent it from becoming a tragic one. He pointed out stages in history when, after a period of factions, the parties turned into political (?corpses).

When he started speaking about the theater of the absurd that, according to him, is taking place, in which all or at least most members of the nomenclatura are presenting themselves as figures that have been repressed by Zhivkov, and in which many unscrupulous persons appear today to be the most scrupulous ones, while those who enriched themselves present themselves as impoverished, certain groups of delegates started to applaud in order to interrupt his statement and force him off the rostrum. I leave it to you to assess who those people might be.

Remarks from the hall urged the delegates to stop dealing with theory and begin to speak in a substantive and factual manner. Academician Vasilev, as a representative of the Alternative Socialist Association faction, was asked about his opinion on the BCP draft Statute and Manifesto.

[Begin Vasilev recording] I propose to consolidate around those documents. I would like to point out that the Alternative Socialist Association does not exist in order to undermine the party, but in order to help to heal it. [applause] [end recording]

The second morning session is continuing.

'Radical Renewal' Urged

AU3001222390 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Dispatch by Yasen Indzhev from the 14th Extraordinary Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party held in the People's Palace of Culture in Sofia on 30 January]

[Text] First of all, I will bring you up to date on the proceedings of the 14th Extraordinary Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Congress.

The evening session is being held under the chairmanship of Dimo Khristov from Karnobad. The speaker at the moment is Kiril Nikolov, the delegate from Kozloduy, who made a number of remarks on the state and development of the Bulgarian energy industry. As far as party issues are concerned, he proposed the following: The membership subscription should be 1 percent of income, with 50 percent of this amount remaining in the primary party organizations; the congress should determine that the payment of membership dues to the primary party organizations at people's places of residence should be made on the professional principle; and that the units in the party structure should be the primary party organizations, municipal committees, and a supreme party council.

The floor was then given to Atanas Semerdzhiev, minister of internal affairs, who declared that there was an urgent need to reject everything that holds us back, and declared his support for a radical renewal of the party, emphasizing that it must preserve its organizational integrity. Regarding the work of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Atanas Semerdzhiev stated that the entire past should not be evaluated in the same way [ednoznachno]. A radical reorganization of the traditional structures of the Committee for State Security and the Administration for Security and Protection lies ahead, and he proposed that a national intelligence service and a national service for defense of the institutions should be set up.

At the moment a debate is in progress on the statement made by Mincho Minchev, deputy rector of the Academy for Social Sciences and Social Management and delegate from Ovcha Kupel Municipality in Sofia.

[Unidentified speaker; live or recorded] Who is against? [indistinct interjection]

[Indzhev continues] I should tell you, dear listeners, that the speech by Mincho Minchev was met with approval by some and with disapproval by others, and many questions were put to him, which is perfectly understandable [passage indistinct]. It is expected that the evening session will end around 2200 [2000 GMT], but it is clear that the debates will continue tomorrow at the 14th Extraordinary BCP Congress.

Discuss Mladenov Speech

AU3001231790 Sofia BTA in English 2052 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 30 (BTA)—The 14th Extraordinary Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] has received a message of greetings from the CC [Central Committee] of the CPSU which makes common cause with the efforts of the BCP for building democratic socialism. The changes in the USSR and Bulgaria will be favourable for the impact on the equality-based mutually advantageous cooperation between the two countries.

After the report had been presented by Petur Mladenov, secretary general of the BCP Central Committee, the participants opened the discussion on its text and on the drafts of the new BCP statute and the BCP's political platform.

On behalf of 14,000 Communists in the Sliven Municipality Emil Stefanov read a declaration which gives full support to the new course of the party aimed at turning Bulgaria into a modern, democratic, socialist state committed to the rule of law. He declared himself to be against changing the name of the party and against setting up factions. In Mr Stefanov's view they would be useful only as a theoretical wealth. The speaker pointed out that the de-Stalinization of the party should not be interpreted as debolshevization which could easily turn into "deleninization"

Stanka Tosheva, a worker, declared herself to be for promoting new people to leading positions in the party. The same view was expressed by Valentin Angelov, who said that the whole Central Committee and all party leaders should be replaced. I have never occupied a leading post but I think that we should apologize for having declared the party omnipotent and omniscient, he underlined. The speaker demanded a more definite answer as to what kind of socialism is offered by the new political platform.

Rumen Serbezov, an adviser at the Council of Ministers, proposed that the party's governing body should be made up of three parts of equal competence—a supreme party council, the group of Communists who are members of parliament, and a body elected by the territorial branches. He spoke in favour of an urgent and decisive economic reform, especially in agriculture. He proposed that the land should be returned to its former owners and if there are no such owners it should be made available to those willing to use it, granting the right to inherit it.

I would like to ask those who call for giving the land to the peasants where we shall find them, said Mariya Gospodinova, a livestock expert from the Sofia region. In her view the roots of the farmers have been cut off. She used a new Bulgarian saying that one can take the land by force but a man won't have it foisted off on him. The speaker told in detail how the Bulgarian agriculture was neglected and systematically robbed for decades, thanks to making use of unjust economic mechanisms. Speaking about the different demands made by various groups, she underlined that now the government should not be expected to do the impossible.

Mr Ivan Stanev, alternate Politburo member, called for a distinction to be drawn between Stalinism and the CPSU and between Zhivkovism and the BCP. "We should keep in mind that the CPSU is the generator of the renewal processes." He stressed that the BCP should keep its name and that the primary BCP branches should exist on a territorial and a workplace basis, depending on the BCP members' choice.

Mr Stanev said that the BCP has created conditions for the emergence of all sorts of other parties and political forces which also seek democratization. Some self-styled politicians, however, are now denigrating the Communist Party. Such a lament for democracy and justice is a poor disguise for power struggle.

The delegate declared himself in favour of earned private property in the economic structure. He stressed the need for outstanding workers to participate in the party leadership.

Mr Ivaylo Znepolski, a sociologist, stressed that if hardliners take the upper hand in the BCP, the country will face riots and even the possibility of a civil war. This will be a national catastrophe. That is why there is no alternative to the reform in the BCP.

So far power was an end in itself for the BCP, the speaker went on to say. The party as a whole was the principal instrument of propagating totalitarianism. The attempts to regard leadership and ranks separately are wrong because they are all to blame, even though to a differing extent.

Reacting to the noisy response of the audience to these words, the speaker said that among those present there were people who would like to hear nothing but pleasant things. The congress, however, is a place to consider alternatives. He went on to emphasize that the BCP should turn into a left-wing party of a new type and should be renamed. The reaction of the audience drowned out his further words.

Mr Rumen Dimitrov of the town of Devnya spoke about the party's break with centralism. It is time that the party work should switch over to full self-support, he said. As to factions, their existence is only acceptable if the BCP preserves its organisational unity.

Referring to the tangle of industrial problems in the town of Devnya, the speaker stressed that all programmes for their solution so far have proved counterproductive. He said that at its first meeting the newly elected BCP leadership has passed a vote of no confidence in Mr Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers.

Mr Stanko Todorov, chairman of the National Assembly, emphasized that the Bulgarian Communist Party now confronts the fateful question to be or not to be in a worthy place of its own in society. He pointed out that under the complicated circumstances since November 10, the BCP has opted for renewal rather than for self-disbandment or procrastination.

Under the circumstances there is no choice but to accept the burden of mass reproaches, he went on to say. Even if it is unfair in some cases, the criticism is indispensable for the self-purging of society and the party.

Mr Stanko Todorov went on to say that all Communists should not be presented as Todor Zhivkov's blind order-takers and unscrupulous time-servers. He spoke about the hidden drama of many leaders under the overthrown regime who tried to mitigate the negative impact of the ousted dictator's subjectivism and voluntarism.

The chairman of the National Assembly stressed the need to uphold the BCP's right to people's confidence and to sound positions in state and society. In his view, renewal is the only reliable key to success. Only a political and ideological orientation to democratic socialism can lead to progress. "We are not setting up a new party at our congress but we are rather transforming it into a party of democratic socialism," he stressed.

A voice from the audience asked why Mr Stanko Todorov resigned from the Politburo a year and a half ago "without a fight" instead of demanding the dismissal of Todor Zhivkov. In reply he recalled that his wife was expelled from the party for attending a spontaneous meeting which campaigned for the rescue of the city of Ruse from an ecological disaster. He had motivated his resignation by saying that the time of Stalin, Molotov and Kalinin when the Politburo members' wives were held in prison was long past.

Mr Stanko Todorov went on to say that when he left the premiership nine years ago he recommended that the vacancy be filled either by Mr Petur Mladenov or by Mr Aleksandur Lilov. He opposed the nomination of Grisha Filipov, "that person changes his view twice a day." This, however, did not prevent Grisha Filipov and no one else from being approved as prime minister.

After several sharp ripostes were addressed to Mr Stanko Todorov, Mr Petur Mladenov called for an end to the harassment of that honourable man.

The sharp retorts to the speakers fuelled the heat of the debate. One delegate said he feared the congress was turning into a talking shop. He suggested that the party's governing apparatus be cut by 70 per cent, that the party leadership make public its property status and that the party branches leave the enterprises.

Prof Asen Zhablenski, president of the Medical Academy, said that if it is to survive, the Communist Party should immediately work out a concept about its organisational renewal, including the possibility of changing its name. He stressed that the present-day realities require an emphasis to be laid on the fundamental values of socialism: the universal human values.

The statement of Mr Lyubomir Ivanov of Varna, an employee of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, drew a stormy reaction. He rejected the uncritical accusations of the law-enforcement authorities and called for disclosures of the malfeasance in office committed by individual staff members. He stressed the need for a legal framework to settle the rights and the duties of the Interior Ministry employees. Misconceived processes of democratization lead to an increased criminality, the speaker said. He voiced concern over the cuts in the ministry's roster.

General Atanas Semerdzhiev, minister of internal affairs, stressed that his ministry should turn into a supra-party institution vested with nationwide powers and that its operations should be confined to limits defined by the constitution and the law of the land.

Discussing the reorganisation of the State Security Committee structures and of the Security and Protection Department with the State Council, he indicated that they are disbanded and that fundamentally new divisions are set up: a national intelligence service, a security service and a national service for the protection of the constitution. Similar changes are being effected in the national police force and in the fire service.

The minister expressed profound satisfaction with the BCP's constructive position expressed at the congress to set an example of loyalty and ethics. He assured his audience that the law-enforcement system personnel deem it their duty to check resolutely any violations of the citizens' constitutional freedoms and democratic rights.

The minister of internal affairs said that at present the Ministry of Internal Affairs troops consist of six battalions with an overall numerical strength of 2,000 men. Most states maintain similar formations. A 160,000-strong unit performs similar functions in neighbouring Turkey.

It has been decided to merge the headquarters of the Border Guards and of the Ministry of Internal Affairs troops and to close down the headquarters of the Ministry of Internal Affairs troops.

"We should bear in mind that our party might have to work in opposition," said Mr Mincho Minchev, vice president of the Academy of Social Sciences with the CC of the BCP. He suggested that party institutes should be established to fill the Marxist education gap opened by the forthcoming discarding of ideological subjects from the curricula. The speaker lashed out at the Union of Democratic Forces which, in his view, is turning increasingly into a coalition of right-wing antisocialist forces. He said that it is inadmissible for BCP members to participate in anticommunist organisations.

Mr Minchev's position was ardently opposed in many ripostes. It was moved that the Academy of Social Sciences be closed down and that the congress distance itself from his statement concerning the Union of Democratic Forces.

Mr Boyko Kostov, son of the party functionary Traycho Kostov who was subjected to repressions more than forty years ago, expressed the opinion that the congress is just the right forum to consider the plans for long-term economic reform and the election platform of the Bulgarian Communist Party. Otherwise these matters may once again be decided by a small group of people.

Keen interest was shown in the statement of Mr Chudomir Aleksandrov, a former Politburo member and ex-secretary of the CC of the BCP, who was asked a number of questions about his role under the Todor Zhivkov regime.

First Day Summarized

AU0102112890 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 31 Jan 90 pp 1,6

["Information Report" on the first day of the 14th Bulgarian Communist Party Extraordinary Congress]

[Text] The 14th Extraordinary Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] opened on 30 January at hall No 1 of the People's Palace of Culture in Sofia.

Petur Mladenov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee, reported that 2,804 Communists have been elected delegates, and that 2,793 of them are attending the congress, while 11 are absent for justifiable reasons. The members and candidate members of the BCP Central Committee, the members of the Central Control-Auditing Commission, and the members of the Central Commission on Preparing the Congress, who are not delegates, are attending the congress as guests. Party veterans, innovators, frontranking workers, noted intellectuals, and representatives if different ideological trends in the party are also attending the congress.

The delegates roseto hear the national anthem of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

With 1 minute of silence they paid tribute to the memory of the following figures, who have died since the January 1988 BCP Conference: Atanas Stoykov, Georgi Pavlov, Dimitur Vasilev, Yordan Katrandzhiev, and Ruben Avramov, members of the BCP Central Committee; Aleksandur Kolev, Dimitur Popov, Stoyan Subev, and Khristo Mishev, candidate members of the BCP Central Committee; and Velko Semkov, Mladen Kostov, and Netso Garvanski, members of the BCP Central Control-Auditing Commission.

Rules on adopting decisions at the congress were approved.

A bureau on leading the sessions of the congress was elected at a proposal of the Delegates' Conference.

The following agenda was adopted with 2,615 votes "for", 163, "against," and 13 "abstaining":

1. Renewing the Party and Constructing the Democratic Socialist Society in Bulgaria. Political report of the BCP Central Committee. Political declaration. Speaker: Petur Mladenov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee.

2. Adopting the new BCP Statute.

3. Electing central leading party organs.

Before beginning the election of the congress' work organs, Stanko Todorov, chairman of the session, explained that the following considerations have influenced the composition of those organs: to ensure just representation of delegates from various regions and ideological trends and platforms in the party, as well as representation of various strata of the party membership and the delegates—workers, agricultural workers, engineering-technical and artistic intelligentsia, and army Communists.

The congress approved the following work organs: mandate commission, editorial commission, commission on the political declaration, commission on the new BCP Statute, secretariat, commission on personal petitions, requests, and declaration, and commission on elections.

Comrade Petur Mladenov read the political report of the BCP Central Committee to the 14th BCP Extraordinary Congress: "On Renewing the Party and Constructing the Democratic Socialist Society in Bulgaria."

A greetings message of the CPSU Central Committee to the 14th BCP Extraordinary Congress was read.

The following delegates took the floor at the three sessions of the congress' first day: Stanka Tosheva, delegate from Sofia's "Lozenets" municipality; Valentin Angelov, delegate from Plovdiv municipality; Rumen Serbezov, delegate from Khaskovo municipality; Ivan Chengeliev, delegate from Aytos municipality; Mariya Gospodinova, delegate from Elin Pelin municipality; Ivan Stanev, delegate from Kremikovtsi municipality; Ivaylo Znepolski, delegate from the Institute on Contemporary Social Theories; Rumen Dimitrov, delegate from Devnya municipality; Trifon Mitev, delegate from Chirpan municipality; Angel Kondov, delegate from Sofia's "Studentska" municipality; Genoveva Dyakova, delegate from Popovo municipality; Asen Zhablenski, delegate from Sofia's "Triaditsa" municipality; Rangel Trendafilov, delegate from Sofia's "Ovcha Kupel" municipality; Lyubomir Dimitrov, delegate from Varna municipality; Stanko Todorov, delegate from Pernik municipality; Rumen Georgiev, delegate from Sofia's "Sredets" municipality; Iliya Mikhaylov, delegate from Gorna Oryakhovitsa municipality; Kiril Nikolov, delegate from Kozloduy municipality; Atanas Semerdzhiev, delegate from the Ministry of Internal Affairs; Mincho Minchev, delegate from Sofia's "Ovcha Kupel" municipality; Chudomir Aleksandrov, delegate from Shumen municipality; Andrey Ikonomov, delegate from the Armed Forces; Boyko Kostov, delegate from Sofia's "Triaditsa" municipality; and Dobri Stoyanov, delegate from Veliko Turnovo municipality.

We begin to publish the full shorthand record of the congress today, and shall continue to do so in our future issues.

400 Delegates Register To Speak

AU3101085890 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0800 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] [Announcer] The morning session of the second day of the 14th Extraordinary Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] opened at 0900. Our reporter at the congress, Iliyana Yancheva, reports:

[Yancheva] The session is being chaired by [first name indistinct] Yordanova of the (?Ruse) BCP organization. The floor was given to Volya Filipov, who surveyed the first day of the congress and pointed out that not only delegates from Sofia took the floor, as some people seem to think, but also many delegates throughout the country. More than 400 delegates have registered to speak at the congress, 50 of them will speak today. Several questions were asked by the delegates, while a group of delegates from Plovdiv Oblast read a declaration in which they expressed dissatisfaction with the congress' work yesterday, because many of the statements have been read in the spirit of internal party struggles and settling of private scores, and thus have deviated the congress from the essential problems. They appealed for a creative and constructive spirit in discussing the BCP Statute and the Manifesto.

It would be correct to say that the first statement evoked great interest. It was read by Stefan Prodev, chief editor of NARODNA KULTURA and chairman of the Union of Bulgarian Journalists. He said that today the Communists can make an impression with their work only if they have regained the confidence of the people and have succeeded in convincing them that for the party it is objectively mandatory to relieve itself of the negative phenomena. He expressed support for the proposals included in the party documents. The BCP has a future and is still capable of producing new elements in a creative manner. A struggle is being waged within the party. This is not a struggle for power, but for purification. It does not hinder but rather helps our development. Only through this struggle will the party be able to fully grasp its new status in society.

Afterward (Lilyana Ivanova), a delegate from Varna spoke. At the moment (Aleksandur (evtimov) has ended his statement.

Minority Parties May Split Off

AU3101141490 Paris AFP in English 1257 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, Jan 31 (AFP)—Minority factions in the Bulgarian Communist Party may split off and set up independent parties amid growing disillusion about the chance of reforming the party from within, analysts said Wednesday on the second day of the party's 14th congress. The internal opposition, represented by the "Alternative Socialist Association" (ASO) and various social-democratic groups, has around 200 delegates out of the 2,750 attending the congress.

According to documents handed out at the conference, the idea of allowing various currents of opinion within the party was rejected by 71 percent of local party branches at preparatory meetings.

On Tuesday, three representatives of the internal opposition, who got up to speak were given an impatient hearing by the audience and Ivaylo Znepolski, a member of the ASO, was whistled and heckled.

Nicolay Vasilev, the ASO leader, said his group, set up on December 16 called for the resignation of the present Central Committee and for the party's new statutes to allow for different currents of opinion within the party. The new statutes submitted to the congress Tuesday contained no such provision and Mr. Vasilev said his group might transform itself into a "socialist party" at a conference to be held in February. But he said he did not want to provoke a schism during the Communist Party congress without first consulting all ASO supporters.

The ASO held its first national conference on January 12. It was attended by 2,500 people although leaders say it has between 6,000 and 10,000 supporters nationwide.

For the time being, the two main social-democratic groups—the "Bulgarian Way to Europe" and the "Democratic Forum"—said they would stay in the Communist Party and try to mobilise support. The Bulgarian way, set up on December 27 wants a parliamentary democracy in Bulgaria and a radical transformation of the political system. The Democratic Forum, founded a day earlier on December 26 is campaigning for an end to communist party activism in enterprises, the police, army, judicial system and the media. It also wants to end the old system of "democratic centralism" whereby everyone has to support the "party line" once it has been voted.

The 14th Congress was summoned to enable the party to make a clean break with its Stalinist past and inaugurate an era of "radical reform". However the general impression here is that most delegates are reticent about reforming too radically or too fast. Speakers criticised proposals to change the party's name and to withdraw party representatives from factories and farms, although they were not expected to vote against the platform of reforms put forward by the leadership.

On the first day, party chief Petur Mladenov called for the traditionally combined functions of party chief and head of state to be separated and for the party to be "radically reformed" to stave off decline.

Search for Personnel Renewal

AU3101162790 Sofia BTA in English 1445 GMT 31 Jan 90

["BCP Congress in Search of Personalities for Renewal"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 31 (BTA)—Nowadays only desperate sectarians can still believe in Stalin's formulation about the leading role of the communists, stated from the tribune of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] Congress Stefan Prodev, chairman of the Union of Bulgarian Journalists. He was the first to take the floor today.

He called upon the Communists to find the strength and speak out the truth. The BCP should overcome stagnation and reform organisationally, morally and ideologically.

Speaking about the new ideological platforms within the BCP, Stefan Prodev pointed out that they are capable of freeing it from everything that cramps its development. They provide a great opportunity for a real political revival.

In Prodev's view the name of the BCP should be changed and its leadership should be replaced by true personalities, competent persons with unblemished reputations.

The congress discussion showed that as far as the BCP ideology and personnel are concerned the party is not ready for the forthcoming trial, said Aleksandur Lilov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP. It should be borne in mind that what happened with the communist parties in Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Poland and Romania may happen with the BCP too. The social crisis has not yet reached its climax, it is yet to get worse.

The key strategic problem now is what kind of socialist society we seek to build by implementing the restructuring, Aleksandur Lilov said. We need a democratic and humane socialism, not in terms of an ideal target but in terms of forthcoming practical reforms.

The second strategic problem is what kind of party we want, the speaker went on to say. He pointed out that the party policy, ideology and personnel should be radically renewed.

The slogans calling for an offensive that are raised now are not realistic, Aleksandur Lilov underlined. The right slogan is renewal, unity and fight to win the elections. Should we not radically reform, we will lose our best part, thus losing our role in society.

Speaking on matters of tactics Aleksandur Lilov stated that now there is not a serious platform for economic reform.

Panayot Karakachanov, general of the reserve, said that by eliminating the opposition after the socialist revolution the BCP made a serious mistake. Thus we deprived ourselves of opponents, which entailed many mistakes, he added.

We should all realize that we are fighting for the restructuring in our capacity of patriotic and not class forces, General Karakachanov pointed out.

At today's morning session a great number of speakers focused on the unity of the BCP and the role of its factions.

Academician Kiril Vasilev, one of the leaders of the Alternative Socialist Association faction, proposed consolidation around the drafts of the political declaration and the new BCP statute. In his view the presence of ideological platforms within the BCP is necessary for the discussion and will contribute to the renewal of the party.

Academician Vasilev proposed that should the BCP's name be preserved, the definition "democratic" should be added to it. If the variant "Bulgarian Socialist Party" is adopted, "socialist" should be followed by "democratic".

2,804 Communists were elected delegates to the congress. Twelve of them are absent with cogent reason, announced in its report the Mandate Commission. Its conclusion is that they all have been elected in a broadly democratic way.

Communists of all spheres of social life are represented, there are representatives of the new platforms and tendencies in the BCP. 1,236 are engaged in the major branches of the economy, including 971 in industry, construction, transport, communications, trade and public utility services; 265 are engaged in agriculture and the food industry; 724 are economic leaders.

The intelligentsia is most broadly represented; it has 2,220 delegates, and 362 of them are scientific degree holders. There are 54 academicians, corresponding members and professors. 361 are engaged in the sphere of education, culture and arts, 118 in public health and social welfare, 504 are economists and jurists.

405 secretaries of primary party organizations have been elected delegates to the congress.

In the opinion of the Mandate Commission the representation rate of the working class and women does not correspond to their respective percentage in the BCP. There are 133 workers and 311 women. That is why 150 workers and women have been additionally invited to take part in the congress as guests.

The age distribution of the delegates is as follows: 18-30 age group, 2.8 per cent; 31-40, 26.61 per cent; 41-50, 39.74 per cent; 51-60, 23.60 per cent; over 60, 7.25 per cent.

Bulgaria's road to Europe passes through the countryside, stated 70-year-old Georgi Krusharov. Europe will not accept us with motor trucks, he went on to say. Had due attention been paid to agriculture, we would not have debts now.

In this connection there was a rejoinder that there is a wide gap between the people's wise sayings and the armchair still-born words of wisdom in some speeches.

Valya Yancheva, a teacher, spoke about the undermined prestige of the Western communist parties. In her view the cause for it is the dogmatism of the East European communist parties and their interference in other people's affairs. That is why support should be given to the communist parties of the EC member countries which want to build a united Europe of the peoples and not of monopolies.

Congress Extension Requested

AU3101164390 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Chavdar Stefanov telephone report from the 14th Bulgarian Communist Party Extraordinary Congress in the People's Palace of Culture in Sofia—live, with recorded portions]

[Text] The 14th Extraordinary Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] continues. The afternoon session is chaired by Iliya Mikhaylov, delegate from Gorna Oryakhovitsa, who answered many questions about the work of the commission elected by the congress by saying that later on he will have a detailed reply. However, let me return to end of the morning session, when Georgi Krusharov from Bratsigovo made his statement. I am sorry that because of the limited time we have you can hear only a part of his statement:

[Begin Krusharov recording] When a handful of determined people from the Central Committee changed the course of our vessel, as Comrade Petur Mladenov put it in his report, and ordered full speed ahead in leaving the Bermuda Triangle into which Zhivkov led it [applause], some people thought that the vessel would sink, and jumped from it like rats—and who knows where the tide will carry them. Others, still wearing their lifejackets, are waiting to see what will happen. [laughter] Others still await the restoration of the totalitarian regime [several words indistinct].

Now about the factions in our organizations. Let us talk about this as Communists. Such factions can exist; they must, however, remain within the framework of the party. Let there be a [word indistinct] within the party, but let it be a vital and reviving one, and not a dividing one. We must not fragment the party! [applause] If we fragment the party we are done for. [end recording]

This line of thinking was pointed out as a counterbalance for a certain bureaucratic way of thinking, which has been demonstrated even from the rostrum. In fact, the issue invoked last by the speaker was referred to by many other delegates.

During the intermission a brochure was distributed to the delegates. It contained premises for a provisional organization, and an alternative statute proposed by the four factions that have formed within the party.

I mentioned the numerous ripostes. Here is another such riposte, made by Valeri Borisov:

[Begin Borisov recording] We already are in the middle of the congress. We have another day to talk to each other, as we have been doing, and convince each other that we are united and democratic. With what are we going to face the elections in May? The political declaration? We have not even started to work on it. We do not know what has been done about the statute. What will the leading structure of the party be? Obviously not the party organizations at the places of work. With what shall we replace them? Those questions have not been discussed. We need at least 1 more day for our discussion. If somebody has any other plans, let him change them. We must leave this congress with an election platform. This platform must be reflected in the political declaration. This has not been done so far. We must hear the report of the commission on the so-called deformations. We must appoint a commission for work at the roundtable and determine its mandate. I appeal to you to vote immediately at least on the proposal to prolong the congress by an additional day. [end recording]

So far, the delegates have not voted on the proposal to prolong the congress by 1 day. Toncho Zhechev, who spoke a short while ago, took the floor in order to relinquish his right to speak. He explained his decision by noting the fact that the delegates are insisting on a specific proposal, within the framework of the 6 minutes allocated to each speaker. However, as Toncho Zhechev put it, we are in this terrible mess because we used to adopt specific but hasty decisions, without taking note of the country's historical experience and specific characteristics.

Nikola Popov, rector of Sofia University, spoke first at the afternoon session. He spoke about the most topical issue at the moment—the existence of an opposition—which according to him is strengthening. He also spoke about the situation in the parties in the other socialist countries. He supported the fundamental renewal of the party and its comprehensive activity, identifying a fundamental review of the statute as the first order of business. The party can be a vital organization only if it is based on the principles of democratic elements and independent initiative, he said.

Petur [last name indistinct], spoke about the draft manifesto and statute. The heated discussion is continuing. At the moment, Rosen Karadimov, first secretary of the central committee of the Dimitrov Komsomol, is speaking. He registered to speak this morning; however, he did not appear. This evoked many rumors, but all of them proved false. He said that he had to show up for an examination, but asked nevertheless to be allowed to speak, and now he is speaking.

[Karadimov] Therefore we propose a professional cabinet, a cabinet of experts and not a cabinet of party leaders. A cabinet that will prepare the elections and the country's economic reform. [end Karadimov]

I will end this report here. We shall continue to follow the proceedings at the congress.

Extra Evening Session Planned

AU3101175990 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] At the afternoon session of the 14th Extraordinary Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP], the Secretariat proposed holding an evening session that will start at 1900. The proposal was adopted by the delegates.

Andrey Lukanov, chairman of the Commission on the Statute, then took the floor. He said that a large number of proposals and written notes have been received. A discussion was conducted on the pages of RABOTNICHESKO DELO and in other mass media. In addition, many proposals have been made at the congress. A special working group is summarizing those proposals. In addition, the proposal of the four ideological trends in the party—a version of provisional organizational premises—has been taken into consideration. At the moment the proposals are being processed, and at 1900 the commission will have a meeting. Tomorrow the draft of the new statute will be distributed to the delegates.

Petur Mladenov, chairman of the commission on preparing the Manifesto, then took the floor. He also pointed out that the documents has been widely discussed. More than 2,300 letters, telegrams, and resolutions from all parts of the country have been received. Many delegates at the congress have also taken a stand on the Manifesto. At the moment a working group is summarizing all proposals, and will work continuously, so that this document can also be distributed tomorrow to the delegates.

Stanko Todorov, chairman of the delegates' conference, announced that all proposals related to the issues of the Supreme Party Council, the Central Control-Auditing Commission, and Party Commission on Ethics, will be discussed this evening at a special meeting, and the draft list of members will be distributed tomorrow to the delegates after the first morning session.

The congress is continuing.

Second Day Summarized

AU3101181190 Sofia BTA in English 1634 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 31 (BTA)—This afternoon the 14th Extraordinary Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] continued its work. Prof Petur-Emil Mitev from the platform "Bulgarian Road to Europe" expressed the opinion that the party's unity should be based on renewal. Today most of the speakers insisted that the party unity should be preserved. According to some of them, this should be done at all costs and the factions are a threat. Other people thought that this is possible only under pluralism of opinions and democratization of party life.

The main issues of the congress, according to Prof Mitev, is whether a decisive reform will take place. He connected them with the party's rejection of the utopian purposes and clarifying the issue about the property. The main problem which the statute should solve is about the system of apparatus autocracy. The speaker proposed that the party chairman should be elected by all its members while the supreme party council should act as a party parliament and include representatives of the local councils. There was a proposal that part of the supreme council should be elected by the congress, while its other part should be the team chosen by the party chairman.

Prof Mitev declared himself for a party of the "held out hand," and not of the "fist", for rejection of the imposing methods of socialism. Speaking about the need of a national consensus for a change without violence, he said that it cannot take place without the BCP participation, but it should give up the concept about an aggressive party. Now, he said, some people are experiencing a shock from the opposition. The attitude towards power is the gauge for the party's democracy. If the people do not support the party's programme at the elections, the party should observe this vote.

The speakers discussed the party's name and whether there should be party organizations in the enterprises. The opinions differed. Some fears were expressed that changing the name of the party could bring to its fractioning. A proposal was made today to dismiss the party organizations in the schools.

Academician Nikola Popov, rector of Sofia University, demanded that high-ranking officials of the old regime resign from the party ruling structure.

It was announced that the party leadership is for openness and publicity of the leaders' incomes and property and is ready to announce such data. The Foreign Affairs Minister Atanas Semerdzhiev, [as received] demanded that the other political and social forces declare their aid received from abroad.

Toncho Zhechev, editor in chief of the SEPTEMVRI literary magazine, warned the congress about the danger of hasty concrete resolutions. He also warned that the struggle for democracy can be lost in spite of the support of all world forces, due to internal dissension.

On behalf of the Dimitrov Young Communist League, Rosen Karadimov, who was recently elected first secretary of the Komsomol CC [Central Committee], urged that the BCP should stand by its demand for appointing the free parliamentary elections for May this year. At the same time he opposed the idea for a coalition government for the moment, by which the party would officially acknowledge the opposition. According to Karadimov it would be better that the government resigns and a caretaker cabinet of experts be appointed which should prepare the elections and adopt urgent measures for stabilizing economy.

The speaker said that the BCP now needs an organization with an ideological platform close to its own, but under a complete organizational independence.

The BCP should become a party of the thinking people, whose aim should be the restoration of society's intellectual values. Let politicians deal with policy and economists with economy, Karadimov said.

Petur Dimitrov spoke against the proposal to set up a commission on party ethics and expressed fears that such kind of commission might turn into a kind of party inquisition. This delegate proposed a model for destroying the pyramidal hierarchical structure of the party. The party should develop as a social-democratic one, professing democracy with a stressed socialist inclination, he said. As a guarantee for the restructuring of Bulgarian society the delegate indicated the categorical separation of the party from the state management and the organization of economy.

Dyulgerov on Congress

AU3101181290 Sofia BTA in English 1744 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 31 (BTA)—The debate at the 14th Extraordinary Congress of the BCP so far showed that there is no clear idea about the ways to take the Bulgarian Communist Party out of its crisis, Mr Petur Dyulgerov, alternate member of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP, told a news conference here today. He said that the debate is held in a democratic atmosphere, exceedingly actively but with insufficiently good political manners. The tension which has built up in society and the party liberates much intellectual energy and gives rise to fresh ideas, and this is a good sign, Mr Peter Dyulgerov said.

The great polarization of opinions and positions is perhaps the best point of the congress, Mr Petur Dyulgerov said. He characterized the differences between reformists and hard-liners as "natural and expected" and expressed the opinion that the tendency to retain the party unity on the basis of respect for different ideas, opinions and platforms and of inner party democracy is getting the upper hand at the forum.

Mr Petur Dyulgerov pointed out that a renewal of the party's governing bodies "down the chain of command" is an outstanding issue. People with realistic views about the intricate processes in society and in the party should be promoted to positions of responsibility.

Tomorrow the congress is expected to go ahead with a debate on the draft BCP Manifesto and rules.

BTA Reports 'Storm of Protests'

AU3101194390 Sofia BTA in English 1819 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 31 (BTA)—At the 14th Extraordinary Congress of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] today the hall acutely reacted and interrupted the extremely conservative statement by Yordan Angelov, a worker from Ruse, who appealed to the future BCP leadership to "strike" the opposition parties and organizations.

In retorts from the hall some of the speakers were accused of not dealing with what they have been elected delegates to do, i.e. they do not discuss the concrete ways for reforms in the party. Other delegates demanded that the congress work out an exact strategy for a pre-election campaign. It was said that the party's real activity should in future be transferred to the primary organization at places of residence, where a pre-election campaign can be carried. But other speakers immediately urged that the primary BCP organizations in the enterprises should on no account be dismissed before the elections as the Independent Federation of Labour "Podkrepa" is now setting up their solid structures. This federation, member of the opposition Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) was determined by one of the delegates as "a real force against which the BCP should conduct a campaign before the elections."

At the same time other delegates insisted that the BCP should give up categorically its approaches of force for withholding power. Delegate Aleksandur Tomov, a lecturer at Sofia University, proposed amendments to the draft for a new BCP statute, which would guarantee that the apparatus will never change the electoral bodies in the party's leadership.

On behalf of several alternative left movements in the party a proposal was made that in future, members of the party leadership should not be government members.

There were proposals to remove the budget subsidies and that the party switch to self-support.

A storm of protests prevented Mr Khristo Smolenov, a representative of a "Group for Independent Analyses," from setting forth his concept about a radical economic reform.

"For decades on end the state has been accumulating capital through overexploitation. This capital can and must be returned to the people. Economically, this can be achieved quite 'elegantly.' That part of the fixed assets which is subject to privatization can be gratuitously transferred to those people who had generated this national wealth. This capital will be investable and shares will be marketed. The result will be a nation of stockholding co-owners of public property. [quotation marks as received]

Focus on Party Platform Urged

AU3101204990 Sofia BTA in English 2019 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 31 (BTA)—At the evening session of the 14th Extraordinary Congress of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party], Mr Dimitur Yovchev, a delegate from the Armed Forces, suggested that the existing intermediate structures in the BCP be replaced by technical experts and that there should be a delegate representation with delegates retaining their mandates until the next congress.

Bulgarian society was variously described at the evening session as a "black hole" and a society of words. Poet Valeri Petrov, who called into question the possibility of "embracing democracy overnight," described the past as "an ice age with icebergs of dogmas and patterns." He spoke about the crisis of man in the party, about the "ethical and intellectual paralysis." Referring to the broken continuity of communist tradition, he called the former party leader Todor Zhivkov "wizard of shopkeeper's ruses."

A number of delegates supported the suggestion that a commission to work out a BCP election platform should be formed right after the congress. They emphasized that without a clear-cut political programme, the party stands no chance in the free elections.

Mr Chavdar Kyuranov, a sociology professor, opposed the advocates of democratic centralism in the party, saying that all European parties which used to adhere to this organisational principle have proved a failure. "Democratic centralism turned us into a party of centralized coercion," the professor said. He asked that the new BCP rules lay down that the primary branch decisions are mandatory for the superior bodies, while the decisions of the superior bodies are only recommendations to the lower level organisations.

Mr Kyuranov called for tolerance of factions within the party: "We don't need hypocritical and forced unity, we need a unity of ideas," he said.

The delegate called for those former top-ranking BCP and government officials who withheld the truth about the effects of the Chernobyl disaster from the Bulgarian people to be brought to justice.

The Public Relations Group told the congress that the media coverage of the congress is found wanting. People are led to believe that the debate so far does not reflect the alarming situation in the party and in the country. Letters sent to the congress demand that the delegates focus on the BCP platform and on this basis look for a way out of the crisis.

The congress will go on tomorrow.

Reformists Want Unity

AU3101215690 Sofia BTA in English 2018 GMT 31 Jan 90

["Reformists Want BCP Unity"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 31 (BTA)—Thirteen per cent of the delegates to the BCP Extraordinary Congress support the Alternative Socialist Organisation (ASO) faction, the Bulgarian Road to Europe and the BCP Democratic Forum ideological platforms and the other reformists in the party.

This was revealed at a news conference which representatives of the faction and the ideological platform held here today to set forth their views of the congress and of Bulgaria's political and socio-economic problems.

The BCP "left-wingers" declared themselves in support of party unity on the basis of democratization through discarding the principle of democratic centralism, through guaranteeing the right of ideological trends, factions and platforms to exist and the right of the minority to an opinion of its own, among other measures.

Mr Nikolay Vasilev, an ASO member, specified that the faction would decide on whether to stay in or leave the BCP at its second conference on February 11. "Still, we don't consider seriously seceding from the BCP. We don't intend to issue the congress with ultimatums," he said. Mr Vasilev said that ASO has 13,000 members in Sofia and 9,000 in the provinces.

According to Mr Andrey Raychev, who represented the Bulgarian Road to Europe, about 37 per cent of the BCP members show interest in and sympathy to the reformists' ideas.

The reformists suggested that the BCP rename itself as "Bulgarian Socialist Party," "Socialist People's Party," etc. They agreed, however, that the name issue is of minor importance for the essence of the changes which should renew the BCP.

The reformists set forth different ideas about Bulgaria's transition to a market economy, about the priorities of the country's integration with the future united Europe: a new status of Bulgaria's contacts with the EC, membership in GATT, representation in the Council of Europe, etc.

Discussion of Party Organs

AU0102074090 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0600 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] The 14th Extraordinary Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] will resume its work today at 0900. Reports of the Commission on Personal Petitions and Requests, the Commission on the Political Declaration, and the Commission on the Draft of New Party Statute will be discussed. Decisions will be adopted on the reports.

A proposal of the Delegates' Conference on the new composition of the BCP leading organs will be reviewed and the delegates will discuss the candidatures.

We shall keep you informed about the work of the congress.

Political Declaration Studied

AU0102114790 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Aglaya Shamlieva telephone report from the 14th Bulgarian Communist Party Extraordinary Congress in the People's Palace of Culture in Sofia—live, with recorded portions]

[Excerpts] At the moment the delegates are discussing the report of the commission on the political declaration. Professor Ivanov from Slatina municipality is speaking. [passage omitted on Ivanov's proposals for amending the text of the declaration]

Let us return to the morning session. Despite the previously announced agenda, it began with delegates' statements. It was announced that the working commissions continued to discuss and edit the documents throughout most of the night, and have not finished. This allowed many delegates to present their positions. [passage omitted]

I would like to report in more detail the statement of Stoyan Mikhaylov, delegate from Botevgrad.

[Begin recording of Stoyan Mikhaylov] Unity in a political organization means unity on the basic political-theoretical visions and on the basic political-theoretical platform. If there is no unity on the basic visions of the socioeconomic development, its directions, and the goals pursued by the relevant political organization, the organization itself cannot be united.

As world experience—including the experience of the world communist movement— shows, organizational unity can be strengthened and maintained only if the necessary ideological unity on the basic issues is achieved first. Consequently, I see the great contribution of this congress as being to work out such a political platform as would unite the Bulgarian Communists on correct and basic ideological-political positions, because this will be the guarantee of the party's real unity and its survival as a real factor of social change in the spirit of progress and humanism.

I also would like to endorse the criticism of the work of the Council of Ministers. For 2 months I have been deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers. Therefore I am subject to the principle of collective responsibility. The criticism was completely justified, because during this period the Council of Ministers did not assume a proper position in anything related to its level, activities, and authority. Its influence was not felt in resolving the basic issues of our socioeconomic development. I would like this 14th BCP Extraordinary Congress, which is a completely new phenomenon in the history of the party congresses since 9 September 1944, and especially since 1948, to make a great step forward in developing the party and working out a common platform around which we could unite, so that we could stop the crisis processes in the country, restore confidence in the party, and defend the cause of socialism, real socialism, in the People's Republic of Bulgaria. Thank you very much. [applause] [end Mikhaylov recording] [passage omitted]

At 1100 the commission on personal petitions and requests was ready with its report and the congress voted to stop the debate.

The report of this commission was read by its chairman, Evtim Stoimenov. Some 1,543 petitions, requests, complaints, and declaration have been sent to the congress and 250 of them contain specific proposals related to the congress' documents. Some 230 affect the status of penalized Communists. Some 425 demand the title "active fighter against fascism and capitalism." Some 632 express dissatisfaction with issues related to housing, judicial, professional, and labor problems. The discussion was stormy and emotional, but in the end the congress adopted the report of the commission.

As you can see the work of the congress is entering an especially businesslike and responsible stage—editing and adopting the documents, and so forth. A short while ago the second session began with the report of the commission on the political declaration, read by Belcho Belchev. This commission has studied all the opinions on the draft of the manifesto, submitted both before the congress and at the congress itself. Belcho Belchev pointed out that generally the document met with the approval of the party and society. It is being assessed as a very important document, which outlines the party's platform at the present very complex and responsible moment. The draft has been improved by many specific proposals and many editorial notes have been utilized. Despite certain inaccuracies, as Belcho Belchev put it, which are a normal phenomenon at the present stage, the commission proposes to adopt the draft in its present form.

At the moment the discussion on the draft manifesto continues. The delegates are haggling over every word. We shall continue to keep you informed.

Media Said To Lack Objectivity

AU0102090690 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0800 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Iliyana Yankova telephone report from the 14th Bulgarian Communist Party Extraordinary Congress in the People's Palace of Culture in Sofia—live]

[Text] The morning session of the 14th Extraordinary Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] was opened by Krasimir (?Ramirev), delegate from Turgovishte, who gave the floor to Petur Mladenov for an announcement.

The announcement was related to the personal responsibility of certain compromised Communists, mentioned in the political report. The Bureau proposes that the congress not deal with their party status. Their files should be transferred to the Commission on Ethics, which will be established by the congress. The proposal was adopted.

The session continued with statements of the delegates. Georgi Zhekov, delegate from Khaskovo, was the first to take the floor. He stressed that the party had wasted many opportunities since 10 November, and the initiative was transferred to the opposition. He proposed to work out as soon as possible a specific platform for overcoming the crisis. He said that the roundtable should discuss the issue of the economic crisis, and that the participants in the roundtable talks should not merely quarrel about political posts.

There were several rejoinders from the floor, one of them by Milka Petkova, from Mladost municipality, who said that the report carried yesterday by television was not objective. Filip Bokov, chairman of the Committee and Television and Radio, answered that a direct relay would have been the most objective report, but if this had been done, it would not have been to the congress' credit, judging on the basis of what we have seen in the last 2 days. Occasionally, reports might be incorrect, but this is by no means manipulation. I have specifically pointed out this accusation because yesterday Bulgarian Radio was accused of the same thing.

The next speaker was Petur [second name indistinct] from Gotse Delchev. He said that it was very difficult to work in an atmosphere of strikes and rallies and that he supported the 29 December decision on the ethnic issue. In his opinion, the decision was an expression of the power of the Bulgarian national spirit and culture. What we need today is forgiveness, mutual forgiveness, he said.

Prof Ivan Nikolov, member of the Alternative Socialist Association faction, said that the party was heading toward radical changes. This will not be a smooth process [words indistinct]

Stoyan Mikhaylov, delegate from Botevgrad also spoke. At the moment there are rejoinders being made from the floor.

[Unidentified speaker] Comrades, this is not the way in which we must resolve our problems. There is only one way—work, work, and only work. This is the only way of resolving the problems! [indistinct passage on the statement of another delegate]

Dear listeners we afforded you the opportunity to listen to the debate for a while, so that you could understand the atmosphere that prevails here. We shall continue to inform you about the work of the congress.

Manifesto on Democratic Socialism

AU0102144190 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Excerpts] The 14th Extraordinary Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] continues. The eighth session is chaired by Vasil Manovski. The discussion of the BCP Political Declaration was discontinued at the proposal of Galina Petrova from Turgovishte. Since several opinions were expressed about the name of the political declaration, the proposal to name the declaration Manifesto was put to a vote. The great majority of the delegates supported this name and Petur Mladenov, chairman of the commission on the political declaration said:

[Begin Mladenov recording] Comrades delegates, we are relinquising, with justification, monolithic unity. We need, with justification, to hear the opinion of every Communist in resolving all cardinal issues. However, I think that there are moments and documents which should reflect communist unity. The party and the people demand this. I think that the present document, or Manifesto, that we are about to vote on is such a document. I know that many comrades certainly have remarks. They would like it to include different clauses. However, I appeal to all delegates to the Congress. Let us all vote together and united for this document in the name of the future of socialism in Bulgaria, in the name of our party's unity, and in the name of our party! [applause] [end recording]

After the words of Petur Mladenov, who is also the chairman of the commission on the draft of the political declaration, the delegates voted. The BCP Manifesto on Democratic Socialism in Bulgaria was adopted by a great majority.

Afterward Andrey Lukanov, chairman of the commission on the new BCP Statute, summarized the proposals on amending separate parts, and editing others. The discussion began and ended with a proposal of a group of delegates. The delegates voted on the proposal to discontinue the discussion of the draft BCP Statute because many requests to amend the text were submitted. I cannot list all the opinions that were expressed.

One of the proposals was related to the election of the chairman of the Supreme Party Council by the congress itself. Andrey Lukanov responded to this by saying that in such a case the chairman will be independent vis-a-vis the Supreme Party Council, and if the council disagrees with a proposal of its chairman, it would be necessary to convene the congress again. You can see how complex and delicate are the issues being discussed.

We shall inform you about the developments at the congress in our evening newscasts.

'Parliamentary Democracy' Adopted

AU0102144490 Paris AFP in English 1339 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] Sofia, Feb 1 (AFP)—The Bulgarian Communist Party, voted overwhelmingly Thursday to switch to a "multi-party" system and "parliamentary democracy" in a supervised free market system.

A manifesto adopted at the party's 14th Congress dropped all references to "Leninism" and "centralised decision-making" but said the party remained "Marxist" and would keep from Marx, Engels and Lenin "everything proven to be worthwhile in practice and which continues to be valid".

The text entitled "Manifesto for a Democratic Socialism in Bulgaria" was approved by 2,769 votes in favour, 11 against and 12 abstentions.

It introduces a new principle of "democratic unity" under which "all party members are equal and have the right to form movements, platforms and associations."

The text limits the party leaders to two mandates.

The text outlined its goals as "the edification of democratic socialism" meaning "a society of free workers, guaranteeing equal rights to all citizens and the opportunity of unimpeded development for all."

The party came out in favour of a "market economy" with the state retaining a regulatory role.

Before the vote was taken, party chief Petur Mladenov called for the text to be approved unanimously in the name of "party unity and the future of socialism".

National Assembly To Resume Session 3 Feb

AU3101180090 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] The leadership of the National Assembly announces to the people's deputies that the 14th session of the Ninth National Assembly, which was opened and held a meeting on 25 January, wishes to continue its work at 1100 on Saturday, 3 February.

The leadership of the parliamentary group of the Bulgarian Communist Party calls a meeting of the group at 0900 on Saturday 3 February in the meeting hall of the National Assembly.

UDF Issues Declaration on Elections, Coalition

AU3101215590 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] In a declaration issued by the Union of Democratic Forces [UDF], it is stated that during the last few days the leaderships of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] and Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS] have made a proposal to form a coalition government, called by them a government of national consensus, which is to prepare for free elections and decide pressing economic and political problems.

It is proposed that the UDF should participate in this government, but this proposal has not been made officially in written form, indicating the conditions under which the government will be formed and will operate.

The idea deserves attention, but we consider that for the time being it is untimely and unacceptable, the declaration states.

The national roundtable enjoys the prestige of being the most democratic forum for reaching national consensus and for carrying out the transition from totalitarianism to democracy.

The main requirements of the UDF, connected with the separation of the ruling parties from the state, have not been fulfilled and remain without a response from the BCP and the BZNS, it is stressed in the declaration.

The roundtable must adopt concrete measures to create equivalent juridical, political, and material conditions for the formation and activity of the different parties and other political forces, for eliminating the institutions and legal acts through which the BCP implements its real monopoly power, for amendments to the Constitution, for depolitization of the security organs, the judiciary, and the masses, for disbanding the apparatus of repression, for conditions for holding elections for the parliament, the local organs of government, and so on. First, it has to discuss and decide how to eliminate the BCP's control and the state's monopoly over the economy and the cultural sphere.

The issue of some form of interim government can be viewed as only one of the possible ways in the context of resolving all these problems. This will make it possible to define the conditions, powers, and period of its activity. Otherwise, we will have a government that is powerless to undertake any serious actions, blocked by the means of the BCP apparatus. Objectively speaking, this will lead to a discrediting of the UDF in the eyes of society and its own supporters.

Depending on the extent to which conditions and guarantees will be created for the people to freely express its will, the UDF expresses its readiness to consider the question of holding free and democratic elections in May this year. The UDF categorically declares that at the moment such conditions are not being created.

Bulgaria needs a legislative and executive power that enjoys society's confidence and support, the declaration of the UDF states.

Pitra Requests 'Release' From Office

LD3101141190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1400 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] Premier Frantisek Pitra asked the Czech National Council today to release him from office.

Letter Explains Resignation

LD3101185390 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Letter issued by Premier Frantisek Pitra in Prague on 31 January—read by announcer]

[Text] At the beginning of December, the Czech coalition government was established with the active participation of the political parties of the National Front and the Civic Forum coordination center. The result of the unification process, which took place in those first weeks, were the principles of the program which I delivered on 19 December to the Czech National Council. The timetable of the government according to which its activity is organized was conceived on that basis.

I would like to thank all those who gave me help and support in my office to now; I value it highly. This support is vital for the effectiveness of the government. At the present time, however, in my activity every day I deeply live through all those hard words of relentless—but in many cases, unfortunately, justified—criticism which falls on those who in the past few years worked in exposed places of our political and public life. I too was one of them, whether I worked in the regions, or as in the last few years, in the center.

I have dedicated practically all my life to date on questions of agriculture. My work in the position of premier of the Czech Government was all the more complicated and demanding for that reason. Just as in previous posts, here I also tried to work honestly. I never took personal interests and comfort into consideration. Despite this, during the period of the reconstruction of the government I thought a lot about the possibility of my continuing at its head, and to effectively fulfill the new program, with which I myself am fully in agreement.

I did not want to leave, however, at a time when real hopes are emerging for the creation of a free democratic society, nor at a time when those leaving the political scene included those who abused their positions and were disloyal both morally and in the human sense. Despite this I have reached the view that even with the greatest of effort, the results of my work, that of the whole of the Czech Government, and thus of the whole government, will be continually evaluated by many people in the light of my earlier position. The effect of the service that I paid to so-called party discipline by obeying the resolution of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and presenting its standpoint on Sunday, 19 November, on Czechoslovak television, will be the same. Unfortunately, nothing in this will be changed by the fact that I had nothing to do with the action and with similar methods, and what is more, that I was the first of the then party and state leadership who asked the federal prosecutor of the Czech republic to undertake an investigation, and that was already on the Sunday.

These are all reasons, as well as some of my health problems, which have confirmed me in my view in the past few weeks, that in the interest above all of greater results of the work of the Czech Government it is right for me to ask the Czech National Council to release me from my post. I turned to the chairman of the Czech National Council in this regard (?on Tuesday).

I leave the office of Premier of the Czech Government with the wish that together we will succeed in fulfilling the high ideals of democracy and social justice, which the majority of our citizens so spontaneously identified with, with practical action.

[signed] Frantisek Pitra

Paper Says Coup Unlikely, 'Impracticable'

LD0102105990 Prague CTK in English 0850 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] Prague Feb 1 (CTK)—Referring to reliable sources close to the Czechoslovak State Security and Counter-Intelligence Service, the Czech farmers' daily ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY said today that a secret armed action against the present government of Czechoslovakia is unrealistic.

Referring to a recent official response by President Vaclav Havel and Interior Minister Richard Sacher to rumours of an immenent coup, the daily said that "a grave danger of a violent police and possibly military coup really threatened only in the first December days of last year. At present, however, such an operation is virtually impracticable from the technical and organizational points of view".

The paper quoted the sources as having said that rank and file members of the state security corps and other armed units of the Interior Ministry lost confidence in the former supreme command and mainly in the main political representatives of the past regime.

The overwhelming majority of state security members do evidently not intend to engage in any adventurous action that can be moreover seen as suicidal beforehand the paper said, and added that in connection with the latest alarming reports intelligence experts are inclined to believe the version of a disinformation operation. The repetition of similar rumours is not ruled out, the paper said.

Havel Visits CKD Plant in Prague

LD3101200590 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] [Announcer] Vaclav Havel, president of the republic, visited the CKD enterprise in Prague 9 this morning. He also visited the apprentice hostel, where Eng Hornova was among the first people to speak to him.

[Begin recording] [Hornova] Mr President, tell them please (?to get things moving). Just have a look at the conditions in which these boys live! Just look, the premises need decorating, the furniture and equipment are poor. The boys live in terrible conditions, indeed! You should see the workshops and their social amenities!

[Havel] I am going to visit them...

[Hornova, interrupting] When you go take a look at social amenities there.

[Havel] The problem is that I have no time to come here and decorate it for you. [Laughter] Wherever I go in this republic, people present me with the same complaints. This republic has been neglected on the whole; It is not just a question of this vocational training school, is it? [end recording]

[Announcer] Accompanied by Petur Miller, minister of labor and social affairs, who worked here in CKD quite recently as a blacksmith, the president was interested in work conditions and the achievements of the Vysocany foundry workers.

[Begin recording] [Havel] How many people work here, one, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight...

[Unidentified worker] The main point here is that it is very dusty here in our foundry works, so that we have to wash our hair every day. We then have wet hair no way to dry it, so that we have to go out with wet hair. Heating was only recently installed, and until then it was very cold indeed.

[Plant director Jurek] I welcome you in our plant. I am Jurek, director of the plant.

[Havel] Good morning.

[Jurek] Good morning.

[Havel] So, they told you that we are here?

[Jurek] Yes, of course. I found out because I was in the sorting plant. Today is the last day of the month, and, as usual, we are trying to catch up with the planned task.

[Havel] We don't like (?barging in) like this.

[Jurek] Never mind that...

[Havel] I don't like to see the lawns sprayed with green paint!

[Jurek, laughing] We would not do that anyway.

[Havel] As far as I can see here, you could hardly manage to do it in 1 day, in a pleasing way. [Turning to another worker] So, this is where the problems are biggest. How do you like working here?

[Unidentified worker] The work environment is (?quite unsuitable) when compared to our earnings. People are leaving, especially the young ones who have finished their military service, because nobody is able to pay them for these conditions.

[Second worker] German-made breathing masks are being used here. They are used mostly in the sorting plant. And the liners, which cost peanuts, well—they don't exist at all.

[Havel] Allow me to ask: The Civic Forum operates here on behalf of the whole CKD, doesn't it?

[Several voices] Yes, it does, here in the foundry works.

[Havel] And does this Forum deal with local conditions, or with general politics, or...

[Jurek, interrupting] No, it deals with local conditions, because today we have Forum, as we refer to it, and I shall deliver a report on the plant's financial balance for 1990 and for the coming years...

[Havel, interrupting] Is the plant financially balanced? I find this hard to believe. What are the state budget subsidies and [word indistinct]?

[Jurek] No, it is not. Last year it was Kcs 23 million. [end recording]

[Announcer] What, then, were Vaclav Havel's findings from today's announced visit to the Vysocany CKD Foundry? This is the question specifically for him.

[Begin Havel recording] Everything is obsolete there and one's hand must be turned to modernizing it. We must earn funds for it. We shall not beg, shall we? I guess that its modernization could cost about Kcs 2 billion. But I am not an economist and I cannot estimate it exactly, but the 2 billion should be earned by them so that they can modernize their plant. But how to earn funds on this equipment is not a simple matter. However, no doubt even this knot will be untied. [end recording]

Rally for Soviet Withdrawal Scheduled 6 Feb

LD3101203190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1800 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] The Prague city committee of the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party calls on the citizens of the capital Prague to take part in the rally in support of the efforts of the President of the Republic Vaclav Havel, and the Czechoslovak Government aimed at achieving a speedy withdrawal of the Soviet troops from our territory. The demonstation will take place on 6 February at 1630 in the Old Town Square in Prague.

CTK Correspondent Visits Soviet Troop Command

LD0102094490 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0900 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] Representatives of the Soviet command of the central group of Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia have willingly taken a CTK correspondent around Milovice and have shown him shops, a sport complex, and a music school for children.

In reply to the question whether the central group's command considers the treaty on the temporary stay of Soviet troops valid, Colonel (?Aleksey Belousov), the chief of the Secretariat of the Soviet Government representative for questions of the temporary stay, said that so far the treaty had not been changed by an agreement of the treaty participants. The Czechoslovak side has put forward a proposal for a change, and that is now being examined. Thus it can be unambiguosly said that the 1968 treaty is valid.

(?Aleksey Belousov) has also claimed that the stay of Soviet troops does not in any way violate the sovereignty of Czechoslovakia, and the cost connected with the troops' accommodation is fully covered by the Soviet Government.

Major General (?Propustev), in reply to a question on how long after receiving the order to withdraw the troops can in fact leave, said that in his experience, and because of the number of troops involved, he can unofficially say: in 18 months to two years.

However, according to information available to CTK, the stay of the Soviet troops has cost a sum running into hundreds of millions over the 21 years—of which the Soviet side covered only an insignificant part. In harmony with the prevailing opinion of the Czechoslovak public, CTK also considers it very odd that if the arrival of Soviet troops took only a single day, why should their withdrawal require such a long time?

Bomb Threats Against Prague Buildings Increase

LD3101211390 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] [Announcer] Today we continually hear more about the need to open up much more to the world and to make use of the experience of others. This, naturally, does not mean simply copying, and under no circumstances does it mean taking on the practices of the Sicialian Mafia for example. I am not over dramatizing here.

At the present time we note that in some areas of our republic there are an increasing number of anonymous phone calls that an important building will be blown up. Czechoslovak television in Prague as well as a number of production enterprises have become targets for similar statements. Its leadership therefore, in cooperation with the relevant organ of the Ministry of the Interior, took vital steps to secure the safety of their property and employees.

I would like to add that what we most need today is calm—calm for our daily work. Our aim is to provide information, truthfully, objectively, and on time. That surely cannot bother anyone who has any sense. Perhaps it is only a joke—although I myself consider it very out of place. I would like to pass over the whole affair once and for all with a certain amount of possibly black humor: If we simply do not finish a broadcast or even do not begin one of our regular news bulletins, do not adjust your set.

Premier Calfa Begins Working Visit to Austria

'Historically Important Time'

AU3101145690 Vienna DIE PRESSE ("CSSR" Supplement) in German 30 Jan 90 pp 1, 4

[Article by Premier Marian Calfa: "Visit at Important Time"]

[Text] I am looking forward to my trip to the Republic of Austria at this historically important time. At a time when the barbed wire at the borders, which for so many years so absurdly separated two countries that have so much in common, has been cut. Two neighboring countries have finally become real neighbors.

Today the basic changes in the political situation of the CSSR create completely new qualitative relations for increasing confidence, understanding, and the development of all mutual relations. A completely new reality of international life and a new quality of Czechoslovak-Austrian cooperation have been created.

In addition to trade relations, scientific and research cooperation, cultural exchange, and so on, special importance is attached to cooperation in environmental protection. In this context, frequently painful and lively discussions on the problems of energy resources take place. Experts and laymen are dealing with further prospects, especially those of nuclear energy. Questions on the solution of which the two sides frequently disagree are at issue. An important step in this context was the recent visit by Marilies Flemming, minister for environment, youth, and family affairs to Czechoslovakia. Her talks with the individual representatives of our political and economic life were conducted in a completely new spirit. Both sides openly discussed everything that is desired and everything that is opposed by their countries. Without unnecessary concealment, things that are possible and things that have not been possible so far were discussed.

As regards the delicate question of energy production, we agreed that it is economical, but above all its ecological production will be required because the greatest source of new energy is energy saving. The future of the Temelin nuclear power plant, where we stopped the construction of the third and fourth block, was thoroughly discussed. Despite opinions that were completely different in the beginning, we finally reached an agreement, which will be detailed during the forthcoming negotiations.

Special importance is to be attached to the complicated joint participation in environmental protection in the future. As early as during Minister Flemming's visit, the first round of negotiations on a reevaluation of all previous contracts took place. Thus, together we will form a new opinion based on the sincere striving for negotiations that are objective, constructive, and, at the same time, very correct and really friendly.

The joint ideas include, for example, the establishment of national parks at the borders of the two states. The region from the south of Moravia to the Bohemian Forest could become part of the planned national park in CSSR-FRG cooperation. The negotiations and the proposals resulting from them are outside the framework of the previous treaties. One of the great advantages to the plan is that these zones should not be used commercially.

We highly appreciate Austria's foreign policy approach to the solution of the problems mentioned and all questions between states with joint borders, joint environment, and joint waters. The opening of the state border for travel without visas by the citizens of the two states was not only adequately appreciated by the public of the two states, but by the whole world. Therefore, I believe that joint initiatives at international forums can contribute to global military and political detente.

The new relationship between the two states will help to create an atmosphere of overall, but also close, economic cooperation. For this reason we are interested in everything that happens in your country because it also affects us and not only influences our further steps in domestic policy, but also in international life.

We want to do everything we can to universally develop our mutual cooperation now and especially in the future. For on the basis of a successful start of mutually advantageous relations in all spheres of human life, European and international cooperation can develop. Therefore, we are not only interested in joint trade, but also in joint ventures. The previous talks have demonstrated the good political will on both sides.

During my visit to Austria, new, untraditional forms of cooperation should be defined. The process of deepening relations between prime ministers is intensified by the establishment of new forms of cooperation and the development of previous forms. Therefore, we welcome all direct contacts between the representatives of regions, districts, and kreises, the mayors of cities and municipalities, the representatives of industrial and agricultural enterprises, artists' associations, and all other organs and organizations.

Because of the previous experiences I am convinced that good and advantageous results will be achieved in the negotiations and that they will contribute to further developing the good-neighborly relations. On this basis, mutually advantageous cooperation will be deepened and an atmosphere of confidence will be created in Europe and the whole world.

'Austria Understands Us'

AU3101150390 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 30 Jan 90 p 4

["Second part" of interview with Premier Marian Calfa by Burkhard Bischof; date and place not given: "Austria Understands Us"]

[Text] [Bischof] Mr Premier, can the fact that your first official trip to the West as head of government takes you precisely to Austria be evaluated as a political signal?

[Calfa] Certainly. I have received invitations from several countries. However, I am deeply convinced that Austria understands us best: Not only because we are neighbors, but because we actually have the same nature. Certainly there are also historical reasons for this.

Austria is very favorably disposed toward us. This applies especially to trade relations. Precisely in this sector either a benevolent, friendly approach without impairing one's own interests or a very cool, hard, businesslike approach is possible.

I was a member of the Czechoslovak delegation when Chancellor Vranitzky visited Prague in summer 1988. And I must say that I sympathize with Mr Vranitzky's actions and ideas and I also like him.

[Bischof] What concrete ideas on the stimulation of bilateral relations will you present in Vienna?

[Calfa] Several members of our government have already paid visits to Austria and I have been briefed in detail on their talks. I, for my part, received Minister Flemming, who is a militant opponent of nuclear power.

I believe that it is actually possible to take the relations to a qualitatively new level. Austria has experience that we could use very well for our purposes. This applies in particular to control and restructuring in the metallurgy sector, for example. In this field, close cooperation in the course of restructuring might produce positive effects for the environment, on which so much emphasis is placed by Minister Flemming. My deputy Komarek also agreed on several concrete cooperation projects during his visit to Austria.

Much closer cooperation might be possible in the field of energy management. Austria uses natural gas that comes from the south. Here we would like to examine whether it is possible to extend the natural gas lines in Czechoslovakia. In addition, the establishment of a national park at the border is considered.

Hopes To Expand Relations

LD3001144890 Prague CTK in English 1300 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] Prague Jan 30 (CTK)—A Czechoslovak Government delegation led by Premier Marian Calfa left today for a two-day working visit to Austria.

Premier Calfa will hold talks with Federal Chancellor Franz Vranitzky about ways of expanding bilateral relations in economy, culture, science and technology, as well as about issues concerning the building of a common European home.

The delegation includes Deputy Premier and Chairman of the State Commission for Scientific-Technological Development and Investments Frantisek Reichel, Deputy Premier and Chairman of the State Planning Commission Vladimir Dlouhy, Foreign Trade Minister Andrej Barcak, Interior Minister Richard Sacher and other officials.

The purpose of the visit is to create prerequisites for substantially expanding neighbourly relations between the two countries and to help extend bilateral contacts on the official levels to regions and towns.

Arrives in Vienna

LD3001163690 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1600 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] Federal Premier Marian Calfa has arrived in Vienna today for a working visit to Austria. The purpose of his visit is to explore conditions for a substantial expansion of contacts between the two states. Marian Calfa will discuss with Chancellor Franz Vranitzky the development of mutual relations in the sphere of economy, in culture, science and technology, as well as the issues connected with the building of a common European home.

The visit of the Czechoslovak premier to Austria should also contribute to transferring the contacts between the two states from official level to the level of regions and individual towns and villages.

Meets With Austrian Chancellor

LD3001185690 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] Federal Premier Marian Calfa arrived in Vienna on a 2-day working visit of the Republic of Austria today. Rudolf Erhart, our special correspondent, reports on his talks:

[Begin Erhart recording] Talks between Chancellor Franz Vranitzky and Premier Marian Calfa began this afternoon in the historical building of the federal chancellor's office in Vienna. After about an hour in the chancellor's study, the two statesmen were joined by other representatives of the two governments. Journalists, naturally, have been able to watch only the external atmosphere of the talks—which seems to be exceptionally favorable. Not only Premier Calfa but also Deputy Federal Premiers Frantisek Reichel and Vladimir Dlouhy and Ministers Andrej Barcak and Richard Sacher are seen here as very competent experts. This is imporant because the renewal of natural, friendly relations between Austria and Czechoslovakia after many years means moving toward mutual assistance and solutions of common problems in ecology, tourism, the economy as well as in the cultural and social spheres.

The creative potential of both neighboring states has for a long time been hitting against artificial barriers—against the Iron Curtain in Central Europe. The common cultural awareness, the common historic traditions have to be utilized now in the building of modern economic and other cooperation. The dialogue on the border has to be now turned into a dialogue without borders. It was in this spirit that the talks in Vienna were conducted today. the day's program culminated with a visit to the Vienna town hall. Shortly there will be a gala dinner, at which official speeches by chancellor Franz Vranitzky and Premier Marian Calfa are expected. A rich program also awaits the Czechoslovak guests in Austria tomorrow. [end recording]

Discusses Economic Issues

LD3001215890 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 30 Jan 90

[No video available]

[Text] Federal Premier Marian Calfa met with Franz Vranitzky, federal chancellor of the Austrian Republic, in Vienna this afternoon for a short talk. Shortly afterward talks between the two delegations opened. On their completion Marian Calfa granted a brief interview to Czechoslovak Television:

[Begin recording, in Slovak] [Unidentified correspondent] Premier, what was the topic of the talks between the two delegations? Have you achieved any specific results so far?

[Calfa] We exchanged views on the internal situation. The Austrian side was very interested in our political developments. We then discussed a host of economic issues. The Austrian side was very interested in our ideas on changing over to a market mechanism, in our individual and specific steps. We explained these steps and also pointed out some possibilities of mutual trade, in particular with regard to the creation of joint enterprises in Czechoslovakia. We do not believe that it is right that joint enterprises have been founded mainly in the sphere of services; in our view we should concentrate on the production sphere. We also said that we will cooperate more closely in ecology. We discussed how to improve conditions on the borders for people crossing them, and we believe that we could agree on some sort of small border contacts.

Individual members of the delegation will hold talks tomorrow, and then we will summarize the results.

I see these talks as very open, very successful, very hopeful, providing possibilities for very close, very friendly and very promising future cooperation.

[Correspondent] What did you discuss with Mr Vranitzky at your private talk?

[Calfa] We informed each other about the situation. Mr Vranitzky was interested in things that are not in the news or in the papers. He wanted to know about the [word indistinct] of our political system and political parties, and how the situation is developing. We also spoke about the construction of nuclear power stations. That is an area on which Austria has rather specific views and is very concerned. We agreed that it would be necessary to have more trust in this area, greater openness, and greater cooperation. We will hide nothing, and we asked the Austrian side for very close cooperation. [end recording]

Vienna Dinner Speech

LD3001213590 Prague CTK in English 2040 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] Vienna Jan 30 (CTK)—"We consider the development in your country and in this part of Europe a confirmation of the fact that our policy of good neighbourhood, our European policy and our efforts in the framework of the CSCE process have been and will remain correct", Austrian Chancellor Franz Vranitzky stressed at a dinner here tonight given in honour of visiting Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa.

He said he expects that the changes in Czechoslovakia will become an example of peaceful evolution and added: "During our talks today we discussed how to make greater use of our geographical neighbourhood and multilateral links of people on a road on which we should not walk alongside but together... The aim of the intensive cooperation in the economic sphere is the growing interconnection of the two countries' economies on the broadest possible level, including agriculture and banking, and the use of all new forms of economic cooperation," Franz Vranitzky underlined.

He called for intensification of contacts on the cultural and scientific levels and stressed that he would appreciate speedy creation of cultural centres.

"I have proposed today to replace the 'dialogue on the borders' by a 'dialogue without borders' which should be held regularly in short intervals," the Austrian chancellor underlined.

"Czechoslovakia has returned again from Eastern to central Europe where it has always belonged", Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa said at the dinner.

"Our ideas about the future can be summarized in simple words: We want to be a democratic country open to the world, striving for good and balanced relations with all states. The neighbours, however, should be closer to each other", Marian Calfa said.

"In the development and deepening of good neighbourly relations and mutually advantageous cooperation in all spheres we see our most significant contribution to the building of a common European home", the Czechoslovak premier underlined.

He said that Czechoslovakia ascribes extraordinary importance to economic cooperation with Austria. Austria is Czechoslovakia's second biggest trade partner of the industrially advanced countries. "The new economic legislation which is now being intensively prepared in Czechoslovakia lays stress on the removal of all administrative obstacles to everything which is usual in the economic life of the advanced countries and what is simply called enterprise", Marian Calfa said.

"The way across borders should be opened not only to people and ideas, but also to capital", he said, adding that the idea of a common European home in which every state and every nation will find its place has been assuming the outlines of reality. Let us contribute to this by turning the relations between Czechoslovakia and Austria into a firm foundation stone on which a genuine common house can be built," [quotation mark as received] the Czechoslovak premier said.

Welcomed by Vienna Mayor

LD3101021690 Prague CTK in English 2221 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] Vienna Jan 30 (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa today visited the Vienna Town Hall where he was welcomed by Mayor Hans Mayr.

The Czechoslovak premier promised to do his best for the contacts of the two cities to substantially intensify and deepen.

Then he met representatives of the Austrian-Czechoslovak Society who informed him about the tasks of this non-governmental organization which supports the development of bilateral contacts for which there are now exceptionally good conditions after 60 years of its existence.

Marian Calfa also met representatives of Czechoslovak compatriots in Austria who acquainted him with their life.

Chancellor Franz Vranitzky gave a dinner in honour of Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa tonight.

Greets Austrian Parliamentarians

LD3101155790 Prague CTK in English 1457 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] Vienna Jan 31 (CTK Correspondent)—Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa started his second day of his working visit to Austria by a meeting with deputies of both chambers of the parliament - the Nationalrat and Bundesrat.

In the seat of the parliament Marian Calfa was cordially welcomed by its President Rudolf Poeder.

The Czechoslovak premier informed the deputies about the development of the political situation in the country, changes in the economic system, preparation for elections, new intentions in legislation, and about the aims of Czechoslovakia's foreign policy. He also dealt with the protection of the environment and with nuclear energy from the point of view of bilateral relations.

Rudolf Poeder spoke about topical tasks of the Austrian parliament and stressed that the changes in Czechoslovakia have become a mighty impulse for the further development of cooperation between the neighbouring countries.

The Czechoslovak premier had also talks with President Kurt Waldheim who was interested in the development in Czechoslovakia. The two statesmen expressed the conviction that this visit will become a strong stimulus for the further enrichment and deepening of contacts in all spheres. They also exchanged opinions on the future of Europe in connection with the development in the Eastern European states.

Ends 2-Day Visit

LD3101190690 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] [Announcer] Federal Premier Marian Calfa ended his two-day visit to Austria today. At this moment he is on the way to Prague. We will broadcast a more detailed interview on the results of his talks in later bulletins.

Editor Ivan Brozik reports on the visit:

[Brozik] As the Austrian commentators have been saying, the federal premier's visit has resulted in important agreements on economic and cultural cooperation and also a partial unification of views on ecological problems. Marian Calfa informed President Kurt Waldheim that Vaclav Havel will visit Austria soon.

However, he did not please those people in Austria who have been calling for an end to the construction of our power production capacities in Temelin and Gabcikovo. Our representative told journalists that these contruction projects will continue; the reason—the need to limit and gradually substitute the power production in thermal power stations. So far they have been producing as much as 65 percent of our electric energy but they have been causing unimaginable damage to our environment and badly affecting the health of the CSSR population. Marian Calfa said:

[Begin Calfa recording] We have been hearing protests from Austria against nuclear power stations. When we want to dig a hydraulic power station we hear that it is [word indistinct] thing to do. So let any premier try to tackle our situation in the CSSR and try to get rid of those thermal power stations. He would have to be a magician as there is no other source of energy. [end recording]

[Brozik] Marian Calfa said at a news conference that on the issue of nuclear power stations there was no convergence of views. However, he said that he is satisfied with the possibilities of cooperation which has to be asserted in a number of areas.

Members of the Federal Government Vladimir Dlouhy, Frantisek Reichel, Andrej Barcak and Richard Sacher, who accompanied Premier Marian Calfa, also held talks with their Austrian partners. The CSSR minister of interior [Richard Sacher] said after his talks with his Austrian partner Franz Loeschnak that this meeting was a follow up to their recent meeting in Bratislava. In Vienna they talked mainly about the issues connected with increasing the number of new border crossings. Both ministers also discussed the need to speedily create conditions to introduce small border contact. The Austrian side proposed a zone 50 km wide, the CSSR a zone 30km wide. The CSSR Ministry of the Interior is planning to open its reprsentation in Vienna in the near future and Austria will have a similar representation in Prague.

Austrian Chancellor Franz Vranitzky said at his talks with his partner from the CSSR that an Austrian cultural institute should be founded in Prague at last. There are plans to exchange scientists as well as plans for joint cultural projects. Franz Vranitzky also assured the CSSR side that Austria will also help us economically to enable us to follow the path toward a common Europe.

New 'Union of the Young' Established

LD2801213390 Prague CTK in English 1525 GMT 28 Jan 90

[Text] Prague Jan 28 (CTK)—An extraordinary congress of the Socialist Union of Youth of Czechoslovakia, which ended here early today and which was attended by some 1,000 delegates, decided to terminate the activity of the union, and to establish a new organization, the Union of the Young.

The socialist Union of Youth was founded as a united organization of Czechoslovakia's young generation in the period of so-called consolidation in November 1970. In the autumn last year it had a membership of 1.5 million.

The quick pace of internal political changes following the November 1989 events has brought considerable differentiation in the youth movement, which played a major role in the developments. There are now about twenty new youth and children' organizations.

The delegates to the extraordinary congress elected Martin Ulcak, chairman of the Socialist Union of Youth thus far, chairman of the new youth organization. He was chosen from among four candidates.

The congress also approved the rules and the program statement of the Union of the Young which said, inter alia, that the union is an independent, mass and voluntary organization of young people,

It is one of the youth organizations with which it wants to cooperate on the basis of equality. Decision on the concrete activity will be taken by members in primary collectives.

The new union wants to be an active part of the international youth, student and children movement.

Slovak Government Concerned About Strike Wave

AU2901082690 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 25 Jan 90 p 1

[Elena Klimesova report: "Democracy Also Means Responsibility"]

[Excerpts] Bratislava— Yesterday's session of the Slovak Socialist Republic Government was marked by the typical atmosphere of these days. One of the points to be discussed and on which a final decision was to be made was whom the former state sanatorium will serve. It was precisely for this reason that employees of the communications department assembled before the Government office to lend weight to their demand that the communications staff be provided with up-to-date medical care.

Indeed, strikes have suddenly become a regular occurrence. Speaking at a news conference after the Government session Vladimir Meciar, minister of interior and the environment of the Slovak Socialist Republic, said that at least two strikes a day have been registered recently. He stressed that if the Government continues to be forced to tackle day-to-day matters and problems which fall into the competence of lower-level agencies, it logically will have no room to deal with conceptual tasks. So far it has often been supplanting the lower-level elements of state administration. At some places these have ceased to operate completely and elsewhere they are paralyzed to a large degree. Minister V. Meciar pointed out that while learning democracy we must not forget that responsibility is its constituent part. [passage omitted]

At its session yesterday the Slovak Socialist Republic Government decided with final validity that, on the basis of findings ascertained by a commission of experts, the former state sanatorium will operate, as of February this year, as an oncology center with international participation. The incidence of oncologic diseases in Slovakia has doubled over the last 20 years. At present, some 5,300 men and 3,600 women die as a consequence of oncologic diseases every year, whereas in advanced countries these diseases show a downward trend.

At its session yesterday, the Government also adjusted some tasks of the state plan of economic and social development for 1990 and abolished the mandatory nature of some indicators. [passage omitted] It abolished the limit on the admission of students into the first year of daytime university studies in 1990. The Slovak Socialist Republic Government set up a commission to analyze the events of the years 1967-70, with a retrospective view back to the year 1938. Jozef Jablonicky, PhD, was appointed as the commission's chairman.

Public Said Pleased With Political Developments

LD2901170490 Prague CTK in English 1510 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Prague Jan 29 (CTK)—As many as 86 percent of the people in Czechoslovakia are satisfied with the political development in the past two months. 83 percent await changes in the country's political system, with more than half of them believing it will be a complicated and long-term process.

According to a representative poll, conducted and financed by the "Group for an Independent Social Analysis" on January 9-19, in which 2,350 citizens aged 15 to 69 were questioned, the positive evaluation is universal in all social and demographic groups and all regions of Czechoslovakia.

At the start of the pre-election period the only outstanding grouping in the political spectrum are the Civil Forum and the Public Against Violence, for which 29 percent of the questioned people over 18 would vote. The state of the environment obviously rejects the 10 percent of votes for the Greens Party. The Communist Party in Bohemia and Moravia won 9.4 percent of votes, the Socialist Party 8.1 percent and the People's Party 7.8 percent of votes. One- fifth of the questioned persons were undecided. In Slovakia the Christian Democratic Party won 8.7 percent of votes. The Democratic Party 6.7 percent and the Communists 6.4 percent of votes. 77 percent of the respondents regarded the Civic Forum and the Public Against Violence, its sister grouping in Slovakia, not as political parties but as broad civic initiatives with independent control functions towards the parliament and the government.

Regarding fundamental changes in the economy as a necessity were 84.3 percent of the respondents. 40 percent believed economic reforms would bring about a deterioration in the living standard, while 25 percent of the population were afraid of unemployment and less than one-third were of the opinion that unemployment could be avoided in the nearest future.

CPCZ Releases Figures on Post-'68 Party Purge

AU3001084690 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 Jan 90 p 2

[CTK report: "Balance Sheet of the 'Cleansing'"]

[Text] Prague— Replying to a CTK correspondent's question, Josef Hora, press spokesman for the Political

Executive Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee, said on Thursday [25 January] that the number of CPCZ members whose membership in the party was terminated between 1968 and 1971 totaled approximately 465,000. From this number, the membership of about 395,000 persons was canceled [bylo zruseno] and 70,000 persons were expelled from the CPCZ. Between the 15th CPCZ Congress in 1976 and 1 October 1989, altogether 3,976 candidates were admitted to the party from among former CPCZ members—out of this number, 3,809 were those with canceled membership and 167 were people who had been expelled from the party. Since 1 October 1989, 217 persons from the ranks of former CPCZ members have been admitted to the party.

Finance Minister Klaus: 1990 Budget 'Deficient'

LD3001234690 Prague CTK in English 2214 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] Prague Jan 30 (CTK)—"The prepared state budget for 1990 approved by the federal government on November 30 was deficient. The open deficit amounted to 5,100 million crowns and the hidden to about 10,000 million crowns. Then the budget had obviously an inflation character", Czechoslovak Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus told CTK today.

He said that the launched economic reform (the so-called restructuring of the economic mechanism) has caused many discontinuities in the budget economy which Czechoslovakia will tackle only with problems this year. The 1989 results are very unfavourable in the budget economy, the minister pointed out.

He stated that non-investment allocations increased by 20.4 per cent in 1989, social consumption of the population financed from the state budget. Expenditure on medical care rose by 9.3 per cent last year which is much more than did other items. Also spendings on education and culture increased quicker than national income. Therefore it is impossible to expect that they will speed up to a great extent in the nearest future, the minister emphasized.

He went on to say that problems also arose in budget receipts, mainly in turnover tax where, due to changes in prices, negative turnover tax increased from 30,000 million to 48,000 million crowns, i.e. by more than 50 per cent.

The problems in the 1989 budget clearly indicate the direction for the 1990 budget, the minister said, adding that the question is how the 1989 state budget deficit will be financed.

The 1990 Czechoslovak state budget has two basic objectives, Vaclav Klaus said. On the one hand it must have a significantly anti-inflation character and on the other hand it must be a budget which will open a process of transforming Czechoslovakia's economy towards the market economy, the finance minister concluded.

Slovak Officials Recommended for Party Expulsion

AU3101111590 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 29 Jan 90 p 1

["(PA)"-signed report: "The CPSL Central Committee Executive Committee Has Held a Session"]

[Text] Bratislava—At its session yesterday, the Communist Party of Slovakia [CPSL] Central Committee Executive Committee discussed the results of work carried out so far by the CPSL Central Committee commission looking into functionaries' individual responsibility for the crisis in the Slovak party. The commission recommended to the CPSL Central Committee that the following people be expelled from the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] ranks because of their role in the recent deformations in party life and society, for their persistence in views at variance with the party's current program and aims, and for losing the trust of the membership base: Ignac Janak; Gejza Slapka; Elena Litvajova; Eugen Turzo; Stefan Bachar; Miloslav Hruskovic; Ladislav Abraham; Jan Janik; Viliam Salgovic; Miloslav Boda; Vasil Bejda; Rudolf Jurik; Ivan Litvaj; Jan Pirc; Ladislav Sadovsky; and Jozef Sevec. In this connection, the CPSL Central Committee Executive Committee requests the appropriate CPSL primary organizations—as long as the above mentioned are registered in them—express their views on the expulsion proposals at members' meetings prior to the CPSL Central Committee February session. It further proposed that Ivan Gonko retain his CPCZ membership. At the same time, it approved proposals for an appropriate CPSL Central Committee commission to deal with the party membership of Gustav Husak, Peter Colotka, and Jozef Lenart. Other CPCZ members and former functionaries in the CPSL Central Committee, state, and representative bodies will be invited to the CPSL Central Committee February session. Some inconclusive cases will be resolved at this session.

The Executive Committee approved a proposal to abolish CPSL organs and organizations within the jurisdiction of the CPSL Main Committee at the Slovak Socialist Republic Ministry of the Interior and Living Environment, the CPSL All-School Committee at the National Security Corps Advanced School, and at the Federal Ministry of the Interior units in Bratislava.

It also discussed some cadre, economic, and organizational matters, among other things, the structure of party organs in Bratislava and other issues.

The Executive Committee decided to convene a CPSL Central Committee session on 24 February 1990 with the following program: The current situation in the CPSL and issues concerning its activation in society.

Decisions of CSL Central Committee Session

AU2301224190

[Editorial Report] Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech on 19 January, pages 1 and 3, publishes a 3,000-word "LD"-signed report on the 12th session of the Czechoslovak People's Party [CSL] Central Committee, held in Prague on 18 January. On the same day, on page 2, LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE publishes the 3,500-word speech by CSL Chairman Josef Bartoncik at the session and, on pages 1 and 3, the 1,000-word "Resolution" of the session.

In his speech, Bartoncik discusses the "very intensive part" played by the CSL in the "process of democratic changes" in Czechoslovakia and the party's preparations for its congress in April and the subsequent elections. In this connection, he emphasizes the importance of the party's "consistent departure with the past" and announces the establishment of a "commission for the purgation of the party," which will assess the responsibility of CSL officials "for deformations of internal party life and of its policy in the past period." Bartoncik also appeals to unnamed CSL officials representing the party in the Federal Assembly and Czech National Council "to realize to what degree their remaining in their posts is tolerable for the party's image in the eyes of the public" and calls for their voluntary resignation. At the same time, he presents a list of CSL officials who should replace them. According to this list, the CSL's new deputies to the Federal Assembly should be "selected" from the following: Engineer Josef Lux; Engineer Jan Vacha; Jiri Medricky, LLD; Engineer Milan Andrysek; Engineer Architect Jaroslav Cuhra; Engineer Miroslav Tera; Josef Macek, LLD; and Miroslav Lajkep. Speaking about the "reconstruction" of the Czech National Council, Bartoncik proposes that the CSL's new deputies be selected from Doctor Antonin Sucharda; Josef Vencl; Engineer Josef Pavela; and Engineer Josef Sedivy.

In the closing part of his speech, Bartoncik discusses organizational and cadre issues. He says, among other things, that the CSL leadership proposes that the CSL Central, Regional, and District Committee Secretariats be renamed "CSL Central, Regional, and District Political Offices" as a sign of "suppression of discredited names and return to CSL traditions."

Speaking about cadre issues, Bartoncik proposes several changes in the CSL leadership. He recommends that the session approve the resignation of Richard Sacher as central secretary of the party, in connection with his appointment as federal minister of interior, and that it elect him as the party's deputy chairman. He recommends, furthermore, that the "Charter 77 signatory" Jaroslav Cuhra and Frantisek Sejnost be "co-opted" to the CSL Central Committee, that Jaroslav Cuhra and Vera Bartoskova be "elected" to the CSL Central Committee Presidium, and that Frantisek Sejnost be "approved in the post of CSL deputy central secretary and entrusted with all legal powers of the CSL central secretary until the post of central secretary is filled."

In the resolution of its 12th session, the CSL Central Committee approves the organizational and cadre proposals advanced in Bartoncik's speech and "confirms Engineer J. Polak in the post of chairman of the CSL Central Auditing Commission." It also convenes the Fifth CSL Congress for 3-5 April 1990 and approves the CSL's draft program, which it submits for internal party discussion [the 4,000-word draft program is published in the 20 January issue of LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE, on pages 3 and 6].

CDU Chairman Welcomes Gorbachev Statement

LD3101181790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1602 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The statement by Mikhail Gorbachev to the effect that the unification of the Germans should never be called into doubt in principle by anyone is of great importance for the German nation's immediate future. This was contained in a statement by CDU Chairman Lothar de Maiziere, conveyed to ADN today.

"Our policy, which aims at the growing together of the German people in peace, freedom, and reason in agreement with our neighbors and the superpowers, is under pressure because of the question of what its chances of being fulfilled in world politics are. Gorbachev has now released us from some of this pressure. The Soviet leadership has thus shown courageous understanding for the aspirations of people in divided Germany. It is now a matter of continuing to fashion the process of unfication with the right combination of resolution and a sense of perspective, with the responsibility of the German people and the future community of the nations of Europe," the statement reads.

Gysi, Gorbachev To Hold Talks Early Feb

AU0102104290 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 31 Jan 90 p 1

[ND report: "Gorbachev and Gysi Will Hold Talks"]

[Text] East Berlin (ND)—Gregor Gysi, chairman of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism [SED-PDS], will hold talks with Mikhail Gorbachev in Moscow at the beginning of February. This was announced by the SED-PDS spokesman on Tuesday [30 January]. Gysi has been invited to visit Moscow by the CPSU Central Committee.

Modrow Interviewed on National Unity

LD0102091990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0128 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—"We wish to create urgently-needed trust" in the GDR Government, which is to soon include the opposition, and see to it "that free and secret elections may take place in an orderly manner so that the country at last becomes stable again within itself." This is expressed by Prime Minister Hans Modrow (Socialist Unity Party of Germany/Party for Democratic Socialism) in an interview with the Christian Democratic Union paper NEUE ZEIT published today.

Asked about his attitude toward the German question Modrow pointed to Gorbachev's statement that the question of national unity should not be decided in the streets. "Despite many understandable wishes of the citizens, one must proceed in this matter in a level-headed and far-sighted way. The growing together of both states should not be pushed through in an overly hasty way. The pan-European process offers a suitable framework for this. That includes the FRG and the GDR underpinning the community of responsibility by means of a treaty-based community in order to further pursue coming together with regard to a confederation."

Modrow stressed: "Whoever uses the word reunification is thereby thinking of the 1937 borders. Our attitude toward this, and that of the Soviet Union, is clear. The border on the Oder and Neisse is established in the Goerlitz Treaty. From the Soviet viewpoint, expectations are important regarding this question that it is not nationalism that forms the basis of the rapprochement between the FRG and the GDR, but that responsibility towards the European states must remain the content of all considerations."

For the period after the 18 March election, Modrow hopes "that a government emerges from the election, by means of the people's self-determination, which is so stable that questions on the agenda are soluble by means of a large degree of trust. I cannot give the following government any more than what is there now. And in truth that is not much. But despite the short amount of time the restructuring has been underway, we have set some things in motion. I am thinking here of the democratic legislation, or the economic reform which is taking shape, albeit slowly. Both are results of the effort, of the struggle with each other in the coalition government."

There should finally be an end to schematic thinking, which was predominant for many years. "Democracy, in the form for which we are striving, requires determined discussion, and it can take some time until a consensus is found."

Church Officials Discuss German Unity

LD3101194890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1816 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The rapprochement of the two German states must take place in a controlled and gradual way. This was the unanimous message contained in talks held today by the Office for Church Affairs, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the Ministry of Justice with representatives of the Federation of Evangelical churches in the GDR. The European framework and the differences that have grown over four decades must be taken into account in this, Manfred Stolpe, deputy chairman of the Conference of Evangelical Church executives in the GDR, said when formulating the standpoint of the Evangelical Churches in the GDR and the FRG, which met with the support of state representatives. A treaty-based community, confederation, and finally a "German Federation" are conceivable as stages. Lothar de Maiziere, the deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers for Church Affairs, added that recognition of the incalculable consequences of rapid unification is clearly growing in the FRG, too.

Like other participants in the talks, Deputy Foreign Minister Ernst Krabatsch pointed to the powerful inner dynamism of the process of inter-German rapprochement. It must be made to bear fruit for the CSCE process so that the division of Europe can be ended. General Superintendent Guenter Krusche, of Berlin, expressed the view that the "political authorities" in the GDR should not let themselves be intimidated by loud calls for reunification. There is no political authority behind them. Clear statement are needed now. Those making political decisions must know what they want. [passage omitted]

18 Million Cross-Border Visits Since 1 Jan

LD3101180790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1710 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—There have already been over 18 million German-German visits this year. From 1 January until Tuesday [30 January], 9,840,953 GDR citizens traveled to the FRG or to West Berlin. In the same period 8,323,085 federal citizens and permanent inhabitants of West Berlin visited the GDR. This was announced to ADN today by the Passport and Registration Department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Since the beginning of the year 5,328,809 GDR citizens traveled to West Berlin. In the same period 2,805,714 persons came from West berlin on visits to the GDR.

1st Official Talks With Israel in Copenhagen

LD3101200390 Hamburg DPA in German 1918 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] Copenhagen (DPA)—The governments of the GDR and Israel intend to institute diplomatic relations between the two countries. This was stated by GDR Foreign Ministry department chief Reiner Neumann and Israeli diplomat Michael Shiloh today after the conclusion of three days of exploratory talks in Copenhagen. The two declined to make statements on the details of the first official talks between the two sides. Neumann said that the exchange of viewpoints took place in a "very objective atmosphere." He said: "The most important result is that we now better understand the respective positions on both sides." The two sides agreed to continue the talks but said nothing on the time, location, and rank of the participants.

Shiloh, who heads the Department for Jews Abroad in the Israeli Foreign Ministry, stated that the most important question for his country is whether the GDR recognizes its "historic and moral responsibility" for the crimes committed by Germans under the Nazi regime. Neumann refused to give specific information on whether the GDR is prepared, contrary to its position to date, to recognize its own co-responsibility for the extermination of 6 million Jews by Germans during the National Socialist rule and to pay reparations to Israel. But he did say: "Within the entire process of renewal in the GDR you may assume that much is being considered anew which was counted as stable for many years."

Delegation Head Views Talks

LD3101215790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2126 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] Copenhagen (ADN)—Three days of talks between representatives of the foreign ministries of the GDR and Israel were concluded on Wednesday in Copenhagen. Both sides agreed to continue the negotiations.

The head of the GDR delegation, Ambassador Reiner Neumann, stated on Wednesday evening in Copenhagen that, with the talks, direct contacts between both foreign ministries were begun for the first time in order to speak about possibilities for the institution of diplomatic relations. Israel and the GDR agreed, the department head in the GDR Foreign Ministry said, that the principles of international law should be the basis for the institution of diplomatic relations. The starting point for the GDR in this matter is Premier Modrow's government statement of 17 November, in which it was stressed that the GDR is interested in normal relations with all Near East states.

The Israeli delegation headed by Michael Shiloh made it clear during the meeting, according to Ambassador Neumann, that in its view relations with the two German states have a unique character. Shiloh pointed out that his country's relations with the German states must be seen against the background of 20th century history. For Israel it is important that the GDR recognize its share of political and moral responsibility for the crimes which Germany committed against the Jews during the period of Nazi rule.

Axen Released From 'Investigative Custody'

LD0102100490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0851 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Acting on an appeal by the accused, Hermann Axen, former Socialist Unity Party of Germany Politburo member, on Wednesday [31 January], the second Criminal Bench of the Berlin City Court lifted the arrest warrant issued by the Berlin-Mitte City Borough Court and ordered his release from investigative custody.

The City Court said on Thursday [1 February] that the Bench noted in support of the decision that, contrary to the lodging of the appeal, the urgent suspicion of a serious case of abuse of trust resulted from the investigations to date, and the fact that a crime had been committed was based on the extent of the economic damage established to date. According to the medical statement of two independent medical establishments, the health condition of the accused required constant medical supervision. According to reports, a life-threatening illness could not be ruled out under prison hospital conditions, taking psychological strain into account. Taking this health condition into account, the Bench had therefore disputed the absolute necessity of investigative custody in accordance with Paragraph 123 of the Penal Code.

Local Berlin Officials Under Investigation

LD0102104690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0915 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The state attorney of the Berlin city borough of Treptow has introduced investigative proceedings against the former city borough mayor Guenter Polauke; Christine Pfeifer, the city borough councillor for finance and prices, who is on leave; and the acting city borough mayor Guenter Kirsche. State Attorney Roland Kaiser said on Thursday at the meeting of the city borough assembly that the urgent suspicion of electoral falsification during the local elections in 1989 exists. There is information that Guenter Polauke was summoned for a talk with the Berlin chief mayor 14 days before the election date. At the end of the talk, an orientation for the desired election result in his city borough was handed over to him. The state attorney said that the instruction was accepted and carried out by Polauke out of "a false understanding of state discipline." The Treptow deputies demanded that those responsible for the coercion to falsify the election be heard and that relevant measures be instigated.

Communist Party of Germany Organizes in Berlin

LD3101212690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2053 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Communist Party of Germany (KPD) on the territory of the GDR was refounded in Berlin today. In the founding document, signed by eight members of the committee for refounding the KPD, the party commits itself to humanism, peace, and social justice.

Last week over 300 interested citizens and the initiative group for the possible refounding of the KPD reached agreement and approved such a step. A spokesman for the working group preparing for the elections told ADN the foundation had to take place for practical reasons and time constraints and because of pressure from associations already existing in the bezirke.

The body elected an ad hoc central organization to operate until 10 February. Klaus Sbrzesny was elected acting chairman.

Report on SED-PDS Presidium Meeting

AU3101123590 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 20-21 Jan p 3

[Unattributed report: "On the Situation in the Country and Within the Party]

[Text] On Thursday [18 January], a meeting of the Presidium of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism [SED-PDS] took place in Berlin, to which the chairmen of the party's bezirk leaderships were also invited. The topic of the meeting was the situation in the country and within the party.

The participants agreed on that the GDR's situation is becoming increasingly dramatic. It was noted that all social forces are increasingly losing control of the situation. Although the participants agreed on the profound and topical reasons for it, there were differing opinions as to whether in this atmosphere of tension it was really possible to renew the party and whether the party was willing to accept renewal, or whether it would not be better to dissolve it.

As the deeper reason for the current situation, SED-PDS Chairman Gregor Gysi mentioned the deformations of socialism through Stalinism, which was the real and true counterrevolution of socialism.

Among other things, he pointed out that with the opening of the border, a completely new German feeling had developed among parts of our population. "We have not yet learned to react to such developments with levelheadedness, particularly since we find it difficult to differentiate between national and nationalist, and between right-wing and right-wing extremist. Right now we have not yet found the effective means for dealing with this new situation, and thus, we unwittingly promote our society's polarization. New thinking is difficult, because, after all, one is used to thinking differently. In order to solve our country's problems, we must learn to think European. This is easier said than done, and it is only possible if we create the conditions for really opening up toward Europe and thus reaching a certain self-assuredness as GDR citizens," Gysi stated.

The extended meeting of the Presidium dealt with the party's situation at length and in a detailed way. The meeting's participants noticed that, following the extraordinary party congress, the self-assuredness of many of those members who aspired renewal was boosted. Meanwhile, they have been disappointed, because they do not notice any or only insufficient changes. The majority of them are leaving our party, thus reducing the potential for renewal. Nevertheless, some also asked what expectations one could have after a period of 1 month compared to a history of decades. It is astonishing how quickly people learn to think along different lines. Realistically, it was assessed that there are still Stalinists in the party, who are holding out in their positions and who are waiting for a return of the "old" conditions. The upcoming elections within our party offer an important opportunity to strip them of their political homeland. Yet, even after these elections the process will not be concluded.

On 20 January, the arbitration commission of the party's Executive Committee, as a first step, will initiate proceedings against all former candidates and members of the Politburo who continue to be party members, and inform the public about the results.

Concerning the increasing criticism from the party base that the apparatus' personnel is the same as before, Gregor Gysi said: "Of the 855 political staffers of the former Central Committee, 233 have left. In the course of another step, this body is to be reduced to 453 employees. Of the previous 40 department heads 11 are still active, although in other offices, 29 have changed, were sent, or will be sent into retirement. Thirty-two of the 61 deputy department heads, and 7 of the former personal staffers of the former Politburo members and candidates continue to work in the party's Executive Committee.

As far as the executive committees of the bezirks and kreise are concerned, necessary changes must be implemented. The party's Executive Committee cannot possibly cope with all this. Nevertheless, of the 262 former first secretaries of kreis leaderships, only 31 continue to be kreis chairmen, and of the former second secretaries, 35 continue to work in their function or as commission heads. All former first and second secretaries of bezirk leaderships have resigned. Of the 205 former members of the secretariats of bezirk leaderships, only 13 work in the new party executive committees in the bezirks."

The proposal concerning the party's property, which the SED-PDS Presidium submitted to the party's Executive Committee last Saturday, and the announcement of further proposals in this context were regarded as absolutely necessary from a political point of view. There was support for the understanding that our party, which uncompromisingly wants to abandon its autocratic rule, must not hold an economic monopoly, neither in the printing nor in the publishing sector, particularly concerning publishing houses for newspapers, or in the sphere of public relations. One must rather strive toward a necessary minimum, particularly in the face of the future structure of laender. In this respect, the party takes a step toward real radical renewal, it strengthens the national economy, saves money, and forces its own apparatus to make further reductions.

The far advanced separation between party and state has been regarded as an expression of the process of radical renewal. Government decisions are not submitted to the party for examination or selection before they are adopted. Other examples are the planned and partly implemented elimination of the radio link systems, and the connections to the government network (only the chairman of the SED-PDS, in his capacity as party chairman of the government coalition will retain such a connection), and the exclusion of party officials from the medical care system provided by the government hospital.

The meeting of the extended Presidium agreed that the party's work party must be in the sphere of politics, in convincing the citizens, and, if necessary, in actions, but that it must and will never again replace state activities.

"The various platforms that were published have created much confusion," Gregor Gysi noted. "We must regard them as an expression of our renewal and as a democratic, left-wing party which has social obligations, and is based on various traditions. All these platforms are based on the statutes and the resolutions of the extraordinary party congress. If we learn to treat them in the right way, the various platforms will not divide us but increase our intellectual potential. The era of 'one party is equivalent to one opinion' has gone for good."

The participants in the meeting of the extended Presidium unanimously welcomed the important role of the roundtable. It was noted that here, too, the SED-PDS is by no means in a "control position." Almost all resolutions of the roundtable have so far been implemented. The government, a factor of stability that has been preserved, is a coalition government. Nothing can be and ought to be implemented against the will of the members of the other coalition parties.

In addition, Gregor Gysi stated that it is particularly the many state and economic functionaries, who used to determine the country's fate allegedly on the party's instructions, that canceled their party membership to an above average degree. Yet if they are members of the SED-PDS, they act according to their ideas and state directives, because the party only makes programmatic statements but does not give instructions. This can be noticed by all those who cooperate with them.

Everywhere in the GDR, one can already see posters of the SPD and of other new forces. In this connection, many members of the SED-PDS have criticized that they see hardly any of our party's posters. Our party members are waiting for material and instructions for the election campaign. Yet before we enter in the election campaign in this way, we must make sizable progress in the process of purification, renewal, and consolidation prior to the party congress. "Currently every single poster would only make the situation worse and not yield any constructive results. It is true that at the extraordinary party congress and after it we made many constructive factual statements. We have many factual and personal offers. Our internal processes and our contribution to the GDR's stability are now even more important because, otherwise, the elections would be in danger," Gregor Gysi noted.

An election campaign does not only consist of posters, but also of talks with colleagues and fellow citizens, self-made flyers, actions, and many other things, and not necessarily leaflets from the central party.

At present, other parties and movements often have only two things to offer: Eliminate the SED-PDS (not: Do not vote for the SED-PDS) and: Unity of the German state as soon as possible. The first demand is frequently so aggressively presented that an atmosphere of hatred is created. Quite a few SED-PDS members are so frighted and put under pressure that they also leave the party for this reason. Gregor Gysi reported on death threats he received. He will not permit himself to be broken by this, he stated. "I believe in democratic socialism, the third path, which leads the people out of the moral, social, and ecological crisis; which condemns war and armament; and also offers the only real chance to our citizens. I am also moved by the numerous concerned letters. However, comrades, bodyguards cannot help me. What we need is political culture."

Regarding the demands of other parties for reunification with the FRG, the SED-PDS also proceeds on the assumption that the German question will be solved, but within the framework of Europe. It is irresponsible to create illusions and not to point out to the people the dangers for themselves and Europe if this process takes place without control, rapidly, and as a special German path. Nobody but the SED-PDS states openly that the peasants would lose their land, the workers their jobs, many tenants their apartments, many landowners their property, and those with savings their accounts in the case of such a solution. The direct consequences would be unemployment, more criminality, and many other things. The entire CSCE process, the European borders, and any stability would be seriously endangered. The peoples of Europe and the Allies would be challenged.

The SED-PDS considers it irresponsible not to say all this and to start the election campaign while dealing with this question as if it were a task to be handled in a day. In contrast to this, the development of the treaty-based community for the people in the two German states is worthwhile. The SPD in East and West is wrong in this historic situation, Gregor Gysi explained. It hopes to be taken along because it jumps onto the train. However, unification in the present stage would be the end of the German left for decades because at the next station the SPD would also be thrown off the train.

The disputes at the roundtable on the dissolution of the Office for National Security were discussed in detail and critically at the extended Presidium session. The justified concern of the opposition and the people that old structures of spying could again be created by forming an office for the protection of the Constitution had been underestimated. On the other hand, others were concerned that a security vacuum might be created by the abolition of the Office for National Security. It would have been right to consider both fears from the very beginning and to discuss with the roundtable representatives how old structures are to be prevented and necessary security needs are to be satisfied, as it is planned now.

When he discussed this topic at the extraordinary party congress on 16 December 1989, Gregor Gysi stated that a government decision on the dissolution of the Office for National Security and the creation of an office for the protection of the Constitution and an intelligence service was supported by all coalition partners. The one organ was to deal with necessary internal tasks, the other was to clear up, for example, what the FRG Republicans plan in the GDR. He stated this in his speech on 16 December and at that time he was not criticized in this respect by party members, the public, or the Western press. Only weeks later the same affair was emotionalized. Of course, this was also due to the fact that the dissolution of the Office for National Security was only planned to be concluded by 30 June 1990, the development of the other organs was started, and neither the staff nor structures of the office for the protection of the Constitution were clear. In addition, government representatives acted incompetently at the roundtable.

Neither the Presidium nor the Executive Committee of the SED-PDS, but only public authorities were involved in the decision to pay money to former members of the Ministry for State Security to tide them over. Apparently, this was treated as an administrative decision and was based on the concern that the former members should not be unnerved too much because this might result in dangers. However, the mood among the populace, that is, the political and ethical aspect, were underestimated.

At the extended Presidium session, Gregor Gysi also dealt with the roundtable's demand to examine the "entanglement between the SED and the Ministry for National Security". It is clear to everybody that the former SED ruled autocratically for 40 years and thus was connected with everything in this country, with every apartment built, with every new enterprise, as well as with the Ministry for State Security, and any other ministry. In the final analysis, the SED is also politically responsible for manipulated elections in May 1989, although there are still no detailed findings. This is also one of the reasons why the party's radical renewal is so urgently required.

However, it is also clear that, in addition to many other citizens, party members and functionaries were also controlled by the former Ministry for State Security. In this context, it is dishonest to treat the old SED like a normal bourgeois party, in order to cause dismay and surprise with regard to its connections with the Ministry for National Security. The old autocratic party, as such, is politically responsible for all, both the operative and individual responsibility lies with the ministries.

"We have nothing against clearing up old structures. We ourselves want and have to eliminate them, however, it has to be feared that not the old party, but fomenting tensions against the party in the process of renewal is at issue. Apart from that, we are allies in this question," the party chairman stressed.

At the Presidium session, a lack of understanding was expressed for the finance minister's view to start the discussion on subsidies for rents now. Goods and services, which GDR working people help to subsidize for West Berliners and FRG citizens, are endangered by the open borders. However, apartments do not play a role in this respect. Therefore, rents are not an urgent item on the agenda. They can be discussed in the end. Lower rents are one of the guarantees for social security in the GDR.

Apart from that, however, the Modrow government deserves deep respect and trust. It assumed responsibility in our country's most difficult period and it bears it. Others are not prepared for this, but only for dismantling it. But what would follow? What would be the consequences?

Who benefits and who is harmed by the threats and strikes now? And agreement was also reached on this question. We need rapid economic measures at once, and, in the opinion of the SED-PDS, the government's international contacts are aimed at this. Economic strength is not derived from instability. No entrepreneur likes to invest in destabilized conditions. In the past 40 years, all GDR citizens have also jointly built something. Considering all of Europe and not only the FRG, the GDR is still a country with a relatively strong economy. But the present development is dangerous. Efficiency and ecology cannot be guaranteed in such a politically unstable situation.

The session dealt in detail with the continued exodus of GDR citizens. The causes are to be found in political and economic instability. In this context, the comprehensive development of the treaty-based community with the FRG is important.

Criticism of the slow progress of the legal proceedings against former members of the party and state leadership is increasingly expressed. However, the party simply cannot influence the judiciary. Gregor Gysi stated literally: "Like all others, I can only make an appeal to accelerate the proceedings against this country's former top functionaries. It is part of the democratic renewal and should also be taken seriously that the SED-PDS chairman is not also a judge or a public prosecutor. I recently received a letter from several comrades who said that they would leave the party if I did not have Erich Honecker arrested within 24 hours. I answered them that I cannot do this, that I cannot and must not interfere in the judiciary's affairs and that the judicial organs would also not permit this. Moreover, I do not like such coercion for I also do not write to them that I will leave the party if they do not stop writing me such letters."

The joint demonstration of the left on 14 January on the anniversary of the murder of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht was evaluated as an impressive event. It was impressive and calm. It created confidence without provocation.

Despite misunderstandings, the SED-PDS advocates a strong independent and unified trade union. It is in favor of full employment and social security, while the SPD wants to put up with unemployment. We have made clear statements on women's, youth, children's, cultural, scientific, security, foreign, and legal policies, also on agricultural and economic policies, while it is urgently required to put the latter in a more concrete form. Not opposition to something or somebody, but support only for a constructive policy can be the party line in the first place.

This will also hold true if the struggle against the parties and its personalities is intensified. "We neither want to eliminate anyone nor do we want to be eliminated ourselves. It is correct, we are struggling for our existence. All of us feel sometimes helpless or tired, but we are responsible for our people and not only for our people, and we would continue to bear responsibility as an opposition party with controlling functions. The parties from which we developed went through difficult times. We had only forgotten this.

"If we want to radically renew ourselves and dissociate ourselves from false people, new courageous and determined people will come to us," the party chairman stressed. He reported that the number of party members has further decreased. At present, there are 1.2 million comrades. "But many more place their hopes in us, in nobody else. We will experience further disappointments, maybe as regards some persons. Unfortunately, we have to expect increased violence. But we must not give up. We would take with us too many values and too many human fates."

It should be clear for all: In reality, the conscious or unconscious struggle against the SED-PDS in the process of renewal is the struggle against the GDR, against democratic socialism, and against the perestroyka in the USSR. In reality, the SED-PDS has no choice. Ideas and people cannot take their leave of history. "Soon we will no longer be the SED, only the party of democratic socialism. Irrespective of the election result, there will be many frustrated people. All these tensions can only be prevented if we and the others understand that we will only manage together, not against each other. We have to learn to coexist anyway." This especially applies to the members of the United Left and the SPD.

Manfred Wolters, Spokesman of the SED-PDS Executive Committee.

Secret Missile Unit Begins Disbanding

LD3101184190 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service
in German 1800 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] The disbanding of a missile unit of the National People's Army began today in the Schwerin area [bezirk]. It is equipped with modern Soviet weapons systems with a range of under 500 km, about which, until now, the public had no knowledge. The missiles, launchers, and ground equipment are to be scrapped in November. One weapons system will be placed in the Dresden Military Museum.

Secret Terrorist Training Camp Reported

AU0102092890 Hamburg BILD AM SONNTAG
in German 28 Jan 90 pp 4-5

[Report by Menlo Heyl: "Did the RAF Learn How to Throw Bombs in the GDR?"]

[Text] Over a number of decades the ill-famed state security service Stasi has run a secret terrorist camp under the cover of the National People's Army (NVA). At least since 1982 several hundred West Germans were trained there how to kill silently, how to shoot like professional killers, and how to blow up Western-made cars. They practiced with Mercedes, BMW, and Volkswagen Rabbit cars. The previously secret camp was a center for perfecting an armed fifth column in the FRG. The Stasi might have even instructed terrorists of the "Red Army Faction" in dealing with mines and other terrorist instruments. The expert killers are living among us—unidentified. The training camp is located at Lake Dehmsee, only half an hour away from that at Lake Scharmuetzelsee, where, according to DER SPIEGEL, members of the DKP [German Communist Party] were trained for bombing plots and acts of sabotage in the FRG.

BILD AM SONNTAG received the site plan of the Stasi base from Peter Mackowiak (26), a former Stasi noncommissioned officer, who for many years served as a guard at the terrorist camp. "At least twice a year groups of civilians would arrive at the Dehmsee MAB (military training base)," Mackowiak stated. "Usually there were twenty of them and occasionally only two or three."

Immediately on their arrival, the FRG citizens changed from their civilian clothes into green camouflage uniforms "without shoulder straps and insignia," Mackowiak said.

According to Mackowiak, "the groups were first trained in single combat." Apart from karate kicks and blows they were also taught how to use strangle nooses. These are wires with loops at each end. The wire is thrown around the opponent's neck and pulled tight.

Then Mackowiak continued: "At the rifle range they first practiced combat shots. Here the guns—Makarov pistols—are held with both hands and the people fire while they move. Another exercise involved firing from driving cars. Mackowiak stated that "those who practiced arrived in an all-terrain car. The driver would jam the brakes on hard, the door was flung open, people dropped out of the car, rolled over on the ground, and immediately fired at a human-shaped target. Sometimes the bullet holes were in the center of the target and very close to each other. Some of those who trained there were professionals."

Mackowiak was able to watch the training with explosives because he was assigned to a fire-fighting squad nearby. The testing ground for explosives of the MAB Diehmsee is a site that is walled-in with 3 meters of earth on three sides, about half the size of a football field. At the side of the entrance there is a bunker which is partly sunk into the ground. The site is surrounded by a thick young forest plantation and a forest.

Mackowiak noted: "Various groups of six or seven persons used to practice here. I saw how they deployed explosives in FRG-made automobiles, sometimes under the hood, sometimes at the rear. The explosives were electronically ignited. In many cases the explosives were deployed in a way that the tonneau was not destroyed." Terrorists must be able to master this technique when they stop armored vehicles and want to kidnap the passengers.

Even women were trained in such terrorist practices. Mackowiak: "At one point there was an all-female group doing the training; they also blew up vehicles."

According to Peter Mackowiak, the apprentice terrorists were picked up with Ikarus buses from Mahlsdorf, a neighborhood on the eastern outskirts of Berlin. They left their private cars, which had FRG license plates, in a garage used by the Ministry for State Security.

In 34-38 Giesestrasse in Mahlsdorf, there is the central "Wilhelm Pieck" guest house of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED]. It has numerous guest rooms and an extension with a heated swimming pool. "It was mainly DKP members and sometimes even Italian guests that came here," porter Uteig told BILD AM SONNTAG.

Peter Mackowiak could clearly determine where the civilians that continually arrived at Dehmsee, came from: "Their coats, sweaters, and the suits and sun glasses people would occasionally wear, were not made in the GDR. Those people were served (West German) Holsten beer in the canteen. I could hear some of them talk in a northern German accent. They were from the north of the FRG."

The classrooms for these Westerners were in Dehmsee camp, some 600 meters away from the other accommodation and surrounded by trees. Mackowiak recounted that in one of the classrooms he saw sheets of paper with chemical formulas and tables. Did the terrorist school in the forest also teach people how to build bombs?

The Stasi meticulously tried to remove all traces. All remaining packing materials for the explosives were collected, the scraps of the blown-up Western cars were taken away. Nevertheless, one can still see a deformed steel plate with traces of blasting with a shaped-charge mine in a heap of waste metal that is still at the wire fence at the explosives testing site.

When asked by BILD AM SONNTAG to comment on this matter, GDR Defense Minister Admiral Hoffmann immediately instructed an officer of the Strausberg headquarters to investigate the matter. Lieutenant Colonel Jahn confirmed: "The building at kilometer 32 south of the Berlin-Frankfurt (Oder) highway is a building of the former Ministry for State Security, Main Division Cadre and Training. The design of the site corresponds to the sketch-map that was submitted to us."

Kidnappings? Ambushes? Who carries out such actions? "Without being familiar with the details I would conclude that it has to do with terrorism, maybe with antiterrorist actions," Lieutenant General Graetz, head of the Main Staff of the National People's Army, halfheartedly disapproved of the strange Stasi training courses at Dehmsee. Nevertheless, "the National People's Army and I, personally, distance ourselves from such machinations," he told BILD AM SONNTAG.

Honecker Regime Said To Deal Drugs With Iran

AU0102095890 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 31 Jan 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "East Berlin Dealt With Drugs for Tehran"]

[Excerpt] The former GDR Government under state and party head Erich Honecker was involved in drug deals for Iran. According to information received by DIE WELT, these allegations against Honecker are one of the crucial reasons why he was first put under house arrest and then, upon his release from the hospital, arrested. The narcotics shipments via the GDR were carried out through Rostock and Schoenefeld Airport. According to reliable information, the drugs from Iran were hauled by a shipping company in which the GDR holds shares. Branches of this company in Larnaca and Limasol in Cyprus acted as stopover points in the transshipment of the drugs. Special representatives of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and of the State Security were responsible for covering up these shady transactions. The leaderships of the state forwarding enterprises Deutfracht and Deutrans allegedly also knew about these deals. [passage omitted]

Szuros Believes Gorbachev's Position 'Secure'

LD3101181490 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] According to Matyas Szuros, our country must conduct its politics in such a way that an eventual conservative realignment in the Soviet Union should not be able to exert pressure on Hungary's internal political development. The provisional president of the repubic, answering questions at the session of the MUOSZ [National Federation of Hungarian Journalists] Presidium, at the same time voiced his view that Mikhail Gorbachev's position, despite existing difficulties, is still secure.

Matyas Szuros sees Gorbachev's biggest mistake as lying in the fact that he did not reform his party, while the changes in East Europe have unequivocally proven that this is one of the basic conditions of renewal.

The provisional president of the republic described the withdrawal of Soviet troops stationed in Hungary as an important issue not only in international but also in domestic politics. At the same time he deemed it realistic that Soviet military units should leave our country by the end of the year.

On Gorbachev's 'Errors,' Future

LD3101201190 Budapest MTI in English 1851 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, January 31 (MTI)—Matyas Szuros, interim president of the Republic of Hungary, on Wednesday visited the National Association of Hungarian Journalists, and held informal talks with members of the Presidium. Although the discussions mainly touched on home political issues, Szuros also spoke about international political issues.

With respect to the disquieting reports arriving from the Soviet Union, members of the Presidium raised the question of how sure is the situation of Gorbachev, and whether some sort of conservative rollback could be expected.

According to the evaluation offered by the interim president, no matter how serious the problems facing Mikhail Gorbachev are, he still has sufficient 'reserves' to remain the number one leader of the country, which is the interest not only of the Soviet Union, but of the entire world as well.

With respect to the roots of the tensions, it can be clearly seen that the Soviet leader is now in a disadvantageous position in several very significant matters. However, the basic problem is that life has forced the change, and renewal lags behind it. The Soviet leader himself has a part in this, as he himself was educated in the 'old school'. The death of Andrey Sakharov was also a major blow to the radical renewal efforts.

On the basis of the Hungarian evaluation, Szuros listed among the errors that caused this disadvantage the fact that Gorbachev failed to reform the party. The changes that have taken place in the central-eastern European region today unanimously prove that this is one of the basic conditions of renewal. The Soviet leaders still start out from the thesis that democracy can be created amidst the frameworks of a one-party system.

Under the Hungarian evaluation, there is no democracy without pluralism. Although the Soviet position can be accepted as a theorem, reality has never justified this thesis.

Mikhail Gorbachev has to overcome such serious problems as economic reform, the ethnic minority issue, and the 'retuning' of the apparatus. In the course of solving these major problems, Mikhail Gorbachev also has to overcome the 'great power habit' arising from the situation of the Soviet Union, alongside the mentioned disadvantages. This is also the test of the new way of thinking.

With respect to the relation between Hungary and the Soviet Union, Szuros said that Hungary should shape its policy in a way that not even a possible Soviet conservative rollback be able to exert pressure on the development of Hungarian home policy. From this aspect, the withdrawal of Soviet troops stationed in Hungary is not only an international, but a major home political issue as well.

In answer to a question by MTI's correspondent, Szuros termed it realistic that Soviet troops will leave Hungary by the end of the year. He shared the view under which there is no political or military reason for their stationing in Hungary. He did, however, hold it important that the Hungarian side show proper tact and an approach that takes the interests of the Soviet side into consideration at the talks to be opened on the withdrawal. Similar care should also be shown with respect to the probable difficulties related to implementing the pull-out: The suitable timetable should be ensured, and everything should be done in the interest of safeguarding the good neighbourly relation.

Nemeth Links Gorbachev With Hungarian Reform

LD0102122190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Correspondent Gyoergy Bernath report]

[Text] The Hungarian nation has always been aware that it is part of Europe, but in the past 40 years it was unable to avail itself of this as well. Premier Miklos Nemeth said this in the interview he gave to DIE WELT, in Strasbourg at the European Parliament's headquarters. For most of the conversation, he gave his opinion on the circumstances of Hungary's reform.

We cannot lose time—by this, the premier meant the internal changes and our joining Europe. We are thankful that Gorbachev exists. If the mood in Moscow were to change, this would immediately end the turnaround in Hungary. The government and the opposition parties agree on this. The experience of 1956 still lives on in all of us.

Miklos Nemeth, in the interview with DIE WELT, cautioned against illusions, against expectations that everything can be corrected in Hungary from one day to the next. We have much to make up. We must learn to think. We have grown accustomed to others doing this instead of us, and this had destructive consequences.

Miklos Nemeth called the Hungarian reform process the impulse which launched the changes in neighboring countries. The transformation of Central Europe is changing the face of the continent, and it demands a rearrangement. However, in a unified Europe based on freedom and the principles of democracy, there is no place for the military blocs, Premier Miklos Nemeth told the newspaper DIE WELT.

National Assembly Session Proceedings Reported

Votes on Withdrawal of Soviet Forces

LD3101155590

[Editorial Report] Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian at 1520 GMT on 31 January begins carrying a live relay of the afternoon proceedings at the Hungarian National Assembly. Acting session chairman L. Horvath opens the proceedings as follows:

"A decision will be made. I ask the esteemed National Assembly: Does it accept the National Assembly's draft resolution on the representation of the Republic of Hungary's military policy interests, on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from our country? Let us vote."

A reporter is then heard saying: "According to this, the Hungarian National Assembly authorizes the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Hungary, that at the talks under way between the Hungarian and the Soviet Governments, the Hungarian side should urge the soonest possible elaboration of a schedule for the full withdrawal of Soviet troops, taking into account the amount of time which is technically necessary and the international aspects of the question, so that on this basis total withdrawal should take place this year, or at the latest in 1991. We have 209 votes in favor."

L. Horvath is heard saying: "The National Assembly has adopted the draft resolution with 209 votes in favor and 9 abstentions.

Bill on MP Status Deferred

LD3101142290 Budapest MTI in English 1316 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, January 31 (MTI)—The bill on the legal status of MPs [members of parliament] which was presented at Wednesday's parliamentary session has not been passed by parliament after failing to win the required two-thirds majority of votes. Even after the second voting, only 242 MPs were in favour, which is ten votes short of the required minimum of 252. Passing of the resolution has therefore been deferred.

Before the bill was put to the vote, Jeno Horvath summarized the related amendment proposals on behalf of parliament's legal, administration and justice committee.

Based on the amendment proposals and bearing in mind the opinion of the parties involved in elaborating the bill, a decision was reached to omit sections of the bill relating to costs, remuneration, reimbursement and privileges of MPs. This means the proposal only contains regulations on work rights and incompatibility which will enable MPs to obtain the necessary information on their legal status during their mandate.

The motion Karoly Eke, MP, put forward that MPs should disclose details of their assets to the speaker of parliament following their election and again after the expiry of their mandate, was supported by the legal committee.

Another motion by Csaba Hamori, MP, to the effect that former employers of full-time MPs should be liable to re-employ the MP after the expiry of his mandate according to his professional training, was rejected by the committee. The bill will now come up for debate again at a later stage.

Bill Amending Press Law Passed

LD3101154490 Budapest MTI in English 1417 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, January 31 (MTI)—The bill on the amendment to the press law was carried at Wednesday's parliamentary session with 259 votes for.

The press law passed in 1986 was amended on a number of important points. Under one amendment, the right to found periodicals or local independent radio and television stations will henceforward be granted not only to state bodies and legal entities, but also to private individuals.

The conditions for launching a newspaper have also been eased: To issue a new paper, the only obligation is to report the fact to the relevant authorities. The newspaper will then be registered. Only if the content runs against legal provisions can the request be turned down. The related prohibitive measures of the amended press law read as follows: "Practising the freedom of the press cannot lead to the violation of the law or incitement thereto. Neither can it go against individual rights...". This clause was supplemented when parliament passed the amendment motion of one MP that in practising the freedom of the press, public morals and decency should not be violated.

The amended law also regulates those instances when individual rights can be considered violated by the press.

Accordingly, a jury can order a newspaper to pay damages of up to 500,000 forints in civil proceedings. Since MPs rejected the idea of awarding these damages to the plaintiff, the amount will be spent for the public good. The newly amended press law regulates questions concerning the mass media and press only temporarily, since another new press law is under elaboration at the Ministry of Justice.

The draft of the comprehensive bill, likely to be an information law, will not come up for parliamentary debate before the March elections.

Resolution on Romania Adopted

LD3101170190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1520 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Report on statement by L. Horvath, acting National Assembly session chairman—date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Begin Horvath recording] The Foreign Affairs Committee has submitted, under number 586, a draft resolution about the Romanian events and the situation of the Hungarian nationality. [passage omitted] Let us vote on this. [end recording]

The resolution, which I have here in my hand, concludes in the following way, in the words of the Foreign Affairs Committee: We hope that the democratic forces of Romania will take a determined stand on the side of the realization of the individual and collective rights of every Romanian minority, thus also of Magyardom. The resolution has received 202 yes votes.

[Begin Horvath recording] The National Assembly has adopted the draft resolution with 202 assenting votes, one against, and 18 abstentions. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Imre Pozsgay Continues Visit to Israel

Meets With Herzog, Arens, Peres

LD3001214490 Budapest MTI in English 2035 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] Tel Aviv, January 30 (MTI)—Israeli President Chaim Herzog asked Hungary to re-examine its supporting position of the UN resolution against Zionism, which it represented when the resolution was accepted in 1975. This was one of the remarks made at talks between Imre Pozsgay and Chaim Herzog in Jerusalem. Pozsgay promised the Hungarian Government would examine the issue.

The Hungarian minister of state on Tuesday met Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Arens, and his host, Deputy Prime Minister Shim'on Peres. Economic cooperation, the way in which Israeli entrepreneurs could join into Hungarian investments were major themes at the brief discussion with Foreign Minister Arens.

Arens said Hungary could also assist the Middle East settlement, if it would carry out a policy 'that better understands the issue and that also follows the complexity of the matter.' However, the possibility that Budapest could possibly act as a mediator in the issue was not raised.

The talks with Deputy Prime Minister Peres included the relation between the two countries, and inter-party relations. Pozsgay said it became clear from Peres' words that the Israel Labour Party supports the acceptance of the Hungarian Socialist Party to the Socialist International. The minister of state invited his Israeli partner for a visit to Hungary.

After the discussions, Shim'on Peres answered several questions by MTI's special correspondent. He said he considers the chances of opening the Israeli-Palestinian dialogue, which is alike supported by Washington and Egypt, to be good. He voiced his hope that all sides concerned will 'draw the necessary conclusions'. With respect to whether he fears a standstill in the development of Soviet-Israeli relations because the arrivals from the Soviet Union are to be settled, according to plans, on the occupied areas, Peres said his government does not intend to establish further settlements either on the West Bank, or the Gaza Strip. The politician did not remark on the sharp Soviet statements made in the matter.

With respect to the possible Israeli participation in solving the Hungarian economic problems, Peres said he believes in closer cooperation between the two countries and although relations are still on an initial level, he sees possibilities which should definitely be utilized.

In the break of the discussions, Imre Pozsgay visited the Jad Vashem Memorial Center near Jerusalem.

At the end of its official programme, the Hungarian delegation paid a brief visit - under strong security guard - to the biblical sites of Bethlehem, considered an occupied area.

Imre Pozsgay is to visit the countryside on Wednesday.

Further Reportage on Visit

WA3101192290

For Israeli reportage on Minister of State Imre Pozsgay's visit to Israel, including meetings with Israeli President Chaim Herzog, Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir, and Ministers Shim'on Peres and Moshe Arens, see the Israel section of the 31 January Near East & South Asia DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Nemeth Visits Council of Europe in Strasbourg

Arrival, Meetings Noted

LD2901151590 Budapest MTI in English 1247 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Strasbourg, January 29 (MTI)—Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, and his entourage arrived in Strasbourg on Monday [29 January] at the invitation of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe.

At Entheim Airport, the Hungarian prime minister met Anders Bjorck, president of the Parliamentary Assembly, Jacques Barel, prefect of Alsace and Bas-Rhin, and Catherine Trautmann, Burgomaster of Strausbourg.

Mr Nemeth and entourage drove to the Palace of Europe, and launched talks with the leaders of the Council of Europe, rallying 23 pluralism democracies.

In the morning, Mr Nemeth met Anders Bjorck, president of the Parliamentary Assembly. At 15.30 p.m. the Hungarian prime minister is scheduled to contribute to the parliamentary Assembly session in the attendance of MP's [members of parliament] from the 23 member states, and the parliamentary delegations of four countries in special guest status, the Soviet Union, Poland, Yugoslavia and Hungary.

Hungarian Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth met Catherine Lalumiere, general secretary (?of) the Council of Europe (CE). The sides signed on agreement on Hungary's joining the European Convention on Transfrontier Television, the anti-doping charter for sport, and the Eurimages fund for backing the film art.

Mr Nemeth met Deus Pinheiro, foreign minister of Portugal and acting chairman of the CE's Committee of Ministers, then Anders Bjorck, president of the Parliamentary Assembly, gave a gala dinner in the honour of the Hungarian delegation.

Membership Request Discussed

LD2901180990 Budapest MTI in English 1714 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Strasbourg, January 29 (MTI)—During their Monday meeting, Anders Bjorck, president of the parliamentary general assembly of the Council of Europe, informed visiting Hungarian Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth on the Council's reaction to the Hungarian request for full membership in the Council of Europe. The request was studied by three committees of the Council, the political, the legal and the one dealing with non-member states. A report is due to be submitted to the general assembly in May, following the Hungarian parliamentary elections due in March. If a favourable decision is reached at the General Assembly, a final decision in the matter is expected to be taken by the committee of ministers, at its November session.

The Council of Europe is due to send a 10-11 strong delegation to Hungary, but not with the task of supervising the impartiality of the elections, but rather to manifest the Council's interest. Mr Bjorck would personally like to participate at the May conference, to be held jointly by the Council of Europe and the Hungarian parliament, focusing on the economic reforms in Eastern Europe and their effect on East-West economic cooperation.

At the meeting between Madame Lalumiere, general secretary of the Council of Europe and Mr Nemeth, it was said that the Council follows with keen interest the situation of the minorities of Transylvania and others living in central and Eastern Europe, also bearing in mind the difficulties arising in inter-state relations, in the absence of a solution to these problems. The Council considers it an important task to deal with these problems.

The general secretary went on to term the present ethnic conflicts and the flaring up of nationalist feelings—witnessed in some countries of the region—as "time bombs", saying that it is the task of sober minded people to defuse these conflicts in time. The only alternative in the absence of a real solution would be a process of "Balkanisation" of central and Eastern Europe. Madame Lalumiere reported that she is looking forward to her Budapest visit in February, at the invitation of the speaker of the Hungarian parliament.

Nemeth, Pinheiro on Ministerial Conference

LD2901200190 Budapest MTI in English 1802 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Strasbourg, January 29 (MTI)—Deus Pinheiro, foreign minister of the Portuguese Republic, current president of the Council of Europe's ministerial committee, primarily reminded Mr Nemeth of events that took place in his own country some 15-16 years ago, which were very similar to those taking place in present-day Hungary. Therefore he is fully aware of Hungary's situation and problems. Mr Pinheiro emphasized that the Council of Europe is seeking cooperation with those countries of central and Eastern Europe, that have taken important steps in instituting democracy, like for instance Hungary.

Mr Pinheiro went on to speak about the foreign ministerial conference being organised by the Council in Lisbon to take place in March, focusing on the changes in central and Eastern Europe. Mr Nemeth indicated Hungary's readiness to participate at this conference, and that he would also welcome the invitation of representatives of other countries in the region. Mr Nemeth said he would like to meet Mr Pinheiro prior to the conference, during his upcoming March visit to Budapest.

Mr Nemeth spoke in appreciation of the assistance provided to Hungary by the Council and the G-24, including members of the EC. The Hungarian prime minister also welcomed the expanding of relations between the Council and Hungary, and the Council's initiatives designed to support unfolding democracy in central and Eastern Europe.

Addresses European Parliament

LD2901231490 Budapest MTI in English 2122 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Strasbourg, January 29 (MTI)—In his address to the Parliament of Europe, Hungarian Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth commenced by speaking about the changes taking place in Eastern Europe and Hungary's role, also in the process of dynamic but peaceful, democratic transformation taking place in the country. Despite the differences in party manifestos and election campaigning, there is a national consensus in the need to create a constitutional state based on the assertion of universal human rights, multi-party system, parliamentary democracy and a social market economy. It is evident to the Hungarians that these tasks are to be achieved through the country's own resources. It is also evident that there can be no national advancement in Europe without world support which perhaps applies to all peoples and countries of central Europe.

"A historical era has now come to an end in Europe and former division is being replaced by a new internal structure on the continent. In this new situation, all sides concerned should re-assess their concept of integration. Thinking in terms of a really unified Europe is a rather complex challenge. The question arises whether all are ready to face such a challenge," Mr Nemeth continued.

The Hungarian Government is endeavouring to create a fully sovereign Hungary. Its foreign policy is Europe oriented, also in view of its geopolitical situation and historical tradition. It requires an easily calculable international environment in Europe and in wider aspect, to be able to carry on with its democratic transformation and safeguarding its internal stability. Its foreign policy is in conformity with this concept. It also raises its voice for the assertion of human and national rights, regardless of social order or alliance membership.

The prospective goal of the Republic of Hungary is the creation of cooperating Europe living in peace and security, free of military blocks and foreign troops," [quotation marks as received] Mr Nemeth stressed.

In conclusion, Mr Nemeth expressed his hope that Hungary may become a member of the Council of Europe already this year, and form an associate relation with the EC in the not too distant future. The creation of institutionalised links with the EFTA [European Free Trade Association] was also held important and related talks are shortly to commence. Mr Nemeth also announced Hungary's intention to join the European charter of local self-governing and the European agreement on cross-border co-operation of authorities. In addition, Hungary is ready to join in the elaboration of the charter of minority tongues as observer.

Nemeth on European, German Unity

LD2901232890 Budapest MTI in English 2237 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Strasbourg, January 29 (MTI)—Having concluded his official programme in Strasbourg, Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth held an international press conference prior to his departure. Mr Nemeth began by summarising the address he gave at the Parliament of Europe. Subsequently, a number of questions were put by pressmen which were already asked by the MPs [members of parliament] in the parliament, and Mr Nemeth repeated his earlier responses.

Mr Nemeth spoke appreciatively about the Council of Europe's role in creating European unity, but at the same time emphasized that the participation of the Soviet Union and the USA in the European processes is essential. "In case their cooperation serves to strengthen this process - and I believe it to be so in light of recent developments - then their participation will be very useful."

A question concerning Hungarian views on German unity was also put to Mr Nemeth who said that in a unified Europe, the lasting and long-term presence in the political arena of two German states would be held by him as an anachronism. "While I consider the unification of the two German states unavoidable, after evaluation of certain given conditions, this should be directed and carried out with respect to the interest of other countries as well, including those of neighbouring states and the super powers as well, I would consider a gradual unification - respective of the interests of others as well - as desirable, rather than something to be ruled out," Prime Minister Nemeth said in conclusion.

Answers Parliamentarians; Departs

LD2901232390 Budapest MTI in English 2155 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Strasbourg, January 29 (MTI)—Following his address in the Parliament of Europe, Hungarian Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth responded to questions by MPs [Members of parliament]. The Council of Europe has a significant role in the creation of European unity, the building of East-West relations, Mr Nemeth emphasized, adding that each concept concerning the construction of the common European House, and the creation of the European Federation or Confederation, is to be studied with great attention.

Concerning Hungary's foreign debts, Mr Nemeth said: Economic crisis is so deep that the country cannot overcome it on its own resources. "We ourselves have to pay the bill but at the same time we can assess available international assistance to ease these burdens."

In response to the question whether Hungary is contemplating seceeding from the Warsaw Treaty, Mr Nemeth had the following to say: The dissolving of military blocs can only take place on realistic grounds, based on compromises. Starting from the principle of sufficient defence, Hungary is an advocate of gradual arms reductions.

Speaking about the Budapest visit by South African foreign minister, Mr Nemeth stressed that Hungary is aware of the apartheid system in South Africa, and openly expounded its related views at the non-official meeting. At the same time however, there is a substantial Hungarian community in South Africa, and talks primarily focused on this.

Responding to the question relating to the effect of the Romanian revolution to bilateral ties and the refugee problem, Mr Nemeth pointed out that the event opened a new phase in Hungarian-Romanian relations. "We are hopeful that these changes will also bring an end to the eviction of ethnic Hungarians, Germans and Saxons. Despite the change however, the number of refugees from Romania has been increasing recently," Mr Nemeth said.

The prime minister returned to Budapest from Strasbourg on Monday evening.

EC President's Proposals Welcomed

LD1901190190 Budapest MTI in English 1429 GMT 19 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, January 13, 1990 (MTI-Econews)—Hungary has welcomed the recent proposals by M Delors, EC committee president, aimed at a new stage of trade and economic cooperation with Hungary and the other Central and East European countries.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs sees a kind of associate membership with the community as the next stage for Hungary, an official at the ministry said. Whether or not the final objective of full EC membership is achieved remains to be seen over the next 5-10 years, he said.

Any association agreemeent has to be preceded by the expansion of political links and conclusion of cultural cooperation agreements, the Hungarians believe. The EC's willingness to help has been shown by its lifting of quotas on Hungarian industrial products from January 1 1990, five years earlier than originally agreed under the Hungarian-EC agreement on trade and economic cooperation signed in September 1988.

The European Investment Bank has recently been made responsible for supervising investment credits to Hungary. Financial cooperation will thus become a basic element of the new-style partnership.

Hungary would dearly like to be one of the first countries in Central and Eastern Europe now heading towards democracy to adopt such a new partnership agreement. There is every chance of this happening provided the Hungarian economy stays on a firm footing, the official from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs believes.

HDF's Kulin Consults With Romanian Leaders

LD1801204490 Budapest MTI in English 1946 GMT 18 Jan 90

[Text] Bucharest, January 18 (MTI)—The delegation of the Hungarian Democratic Forum (HDF) which paid a three-day visit to Romania under the leadership of Deputy President Ferenc Kulin, left Bucharest on Thursday.

The delegation met Silviu Brucan, member of the National Salvation Front Council, Victor Voican-Voiculescu, deputy prime minister, Geza Domokos, president of the provisional executive committee of the Hungarian Democratic Federation of Romania, and Andor Horvath, deputy minister of culture and member of the Executive Committee, and other politicians.

The delegation held consultations with leaders of the National Peasant Party, the National Democratic Party, the National Liberal Party, and the Group for Social Dialogue.

Szuros Receives Romania's Kiraly

LD2401185690 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Excerpts] Matyas Szuros has received Karoly Kiraly. The Hungarian interim president of the republic is worried that in Romania the old reflexes and structures are still functioning, which impede the improvement of our relations and the signing of concrete agreements.

Matyas Szuros spoke about this to Karoly Kiraly, deputy chairman of the Romanian National Salavation Front [NSF]. As he said, it seems that for the moment Bucharest does not want to give permission for the re-opening of the Hungarian Consulate in Kolozsvar [as heard], and the Hungarian House of Culture in Bucharest, the closures of which were decisions taken back in Ceausescu's time. [passage omitted]

Matyas Szuros put forward the possibility of re-recording Hungarian television programs. Furthermore, he repeated the Budapest proposal which was voiced at the recent talks of the foreign affairs experts, that we should make a joint statement of intent about the improvement of the situation of the Hungarians living in Romania, and the Romanians living here. A joint document should be accepted on the basic principles of our good neighborly relations, too, said the interim president of the republic to the deputy chairman of the Romanian NSF.

Interior Ministry on Romanian Refugees

AU1501133190 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 4 Jan 90 p 3

[Interview with Zoltan Gal, state secretary at the Interior Ministry, by Tibor Franka; date and place not given: "Presbyterian Bishop Laszlo Papp Fled to France—

Securitate People Are Not Entitled to Refugee Status!—Many Refugees Continue to Come From Romania—No Financial Aid Given"]

[Text] [Franka] What happens if the former Bishop of Transylvania asks for refugee status in Hungary? What if Romanian Securitate members do the same?

[Gal] Ever since we joined the convention on refugees, we have been applying its rules to everyone. In other words, we will carry out the procedures, even if the bishop or a Securitate member asks for refugee status. However, we would probably regard neither the bishop nor a Securitate member as a refugee.

[Franka] How would you decide in such a case?

[Gal] We will return all the former Securitate people. In the case of the aformentioned bishop, I can imagine a scenario in which we would ask the opinion of the Presbyterian Church in Transylvania and in Hungary before coming to a final decision. As to what I mean, I think it is clear....

[Franka] What effects are the Romanian changes having on refugees who have been in Hungary for a longer time?

[Gal] Strangely enough, the number of refugees from Romania has not diminished since the fall of the dictatorship there; we have been waiting for this in vain. An increasing number of people are arriving here with legal passports and, just like before, they also ask for residence permits.

[Franka] Do the people already here not want to return either?

[Gal] Up till now, only a few people have returned. Because they are not going back and the number of people arriving here is not decreasing, we ordered the temporary discontinuation of financial assistance to people arriving with legal passports.

[Franka] Why was such a strict measure necessary?

[Gal] Because an increasing number of people are crossing the border only for financial assistance, and their passports are in order. Two statistics provide an ample explanation of the situation: Some 53 people applied solely to the refugee office of the Budapest Council on 2 January; at the same time, only 33 people returned to Transylvania.

[Franka] Did they return for good?

[Gal] This is not sure either. Many people rush home only to bring their families, and others make the trip only if they can return to Hungary any time.

The number of refugees coming into Hungary has not changed considerably since the fall of the dictatorship there. Despite the increasingly calm news arriving from Transylvania, the people are still distrustful and do not dare to return. However, their hesitation—although understandable—is not a solution for us. If anybody is really interested at all in whether these people stay, go, or whether more people come, then it is us.

However, without being sure, it would be irresponsible to hurry things at this point....

Nationalities Form Self-Governing Body

LD1401092190 Budapest MTI in English 2232 GMT 12 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, January 12 (MTI)—The formation of the self-governing organ of the Hungarian nationalities was initiated by representatives of the German, Slovak, Romanian, Serbian and Croation nationalities at their Friday [12 January] conference.

It is the sovereign right of Hungarian nationals to take part at the National Assembly and to set up a separate committee of the nationals, it was stressed by Csaba Tabajdi, head of the nationals and ethnic and minority college of the government. The government is to propose the amendment of the Constitution to enable participation in parliament by representatives of minorities as well, on a summoning basis, Mr Tabajdi said.

Jaruzelski Condemns 'Anti-Soviet Excesses'

LD3101185990 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] In a statement issued in connection with repeated anti- Soviet excesses recently, President Wojciech Jaruzelski has stressed that they are acts of vandalism contradictory to our understanding of the concept of being European, to our political culture and national tradition, and to the universally recognized principles of international coexistence. These excesses are criminal acts and should be treated as such. In the president's opinion, the opposition they arouse should be all the greater, since they are aimed against a country which is carrying out fundamental transformations and whose authorities have given Poland numerous indications of respect, goodwill, and a desire for broad cooperation. Although the perpetrators of these excesses are a small group, they give our society a bad name, we read in the president's statement.

Mazowiekci Interviewed in Brussels

LD3101193190 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Interview with Polish Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki by unidentified reporter in Brussels on 31 January—recorded; reporter in French with superimposed Polish translation]

[Text] [Reporter] After the first day of your visit to Belgium, do you think that the dynamic part of Europe would like to aid the Europe which is in stagnation, or will it merely satisfy itself with declarations of intent?

[Mazowiecki] I think it will give help. I am satisfied with this first day of talks. In our conversation with Prime Minister Martens, for example, we have dealt with a problem of great importance to Poland—the debt problem. We have found here a good level of understanding. And we will continue to work on these things.

And I think—I repeat this once again—that this meeting of industralists, which was attended by so many, was not just a meeting of observers of what is taking place in our country, but a meeting of people—as they told me—who are prepared to involve themselves in business with Poland.

Mazowiecki Banquet Speech

LD3101231190 Warsaw PAP in English 2154 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] Brussels, Jan. 31—Following are excerpts from a speech delivered by Polish Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki at an official banquet given by Belgium's prime minister Wilfried Martens today.

I am tremendously happy to be in Belgium. I appreciate the fact that Belgium, as the first state of Western Europe, invited me to pay an official visit. I also highly value the interest of the prime minister in further deepening relations between our countries.

We want to seek solutions which will ensure security for all in Europe, without being a threat to anyone. We want to use all the possibilities of economic and political cooperation, also by participation in European organizations. We are interested in cooperation in the field of culture and information, transportation, communications, and natural environment protection.

Poland wants to cooperate in the unification of all of Europe. I believe that in making the first steps along this road today, Poland and Belgium will play a significant role in this process.

We give priority to the process of reconstruction of European Unity. The process of German unity cannot overtake the process of European integration.

Reversing this would pose a threat to our continent and the CSCE process. We therefore welcomed the stand of European Community states on this matter expressed recently at the summit in Strasbourg, which the Belgian side contributed to significantly.

We value the decision of the Belgian Government to open state- guaranteed credits. We are counting on them allowing us to buy durables and technology in Belgium and contributing to closer cooperation between the industries of our countries.

I express the hope that the Government of Belgium will encourage and uphold the interest of Belgium companies in embarking on long- term cooperation with Polish companies.

I wish to thank for the to-date kind attitude of the Belgian Government towards our needs and postulates presented on multi- lateral assembies and for the aid rendered within the EEC and the program of the 24 most industrialized states.

Further Activities in Belgium

LD0102043790 Warsaw PAP in English 2350 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] Brussels, Jan, 31—Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki started today his official visit to Belgium. In front of the Egmont Palace he was greeted by Belgian Premier Wilfried Martens. Then the two prime ministers held a one-hour face-to-face talks.

Meeting With Industrialists

In the forenoon, Prime Minister Mazowiecki met with representatives of economic and industrial circles in Belgium, members of the Federation of Belgian Enterprises, FEB.

While welcoming the Polish prime minister, FEB President Phillippe Bodson said that they followed with attention the unprecedented developments in Poland which constitute a great chance to enhance European integration. He also assured Mazowiecki that Belgian enterprises could and were willing to help implement the Polish progrmme of reforms.

He also presented the main directions of activities aimed to support the reforms in Poland. The federation intends to organize training course for Polish managerial cadres and help restructure Polish enterprises.

"The developments have sped up in Eastern Europe and it is necessary for all of Europe to undertake appropriate actions," Mazowiecki said in response. "The future of the entire Europe depends on this to a great extent. We do not feel like being outdistanced in the process of changes by anybody as they reach very deep in our country. We want concrete moves in bilateral cooperation in the shortest possible time and I encouraged Premier Martens to this during our face-to-face talk," Mazowiecki said.

"We have to establish a kind of martimonial office to join the interests of the two sides. We particularly want to associate these interests in agriculture, banking and to create the whole economic infrastructure. I am convinced that it is necessary to remove the existing division of Europe into the rich and poor one. We are determined to overcome this division and I encourage everybody to cooperate with such Poland," Mazowiecki said.

Minister Witold Trzeciakowski told the Belgian industrialists about the Polish economic programme and economic laws in Poland. He spoke about the basic elements of the stabilization program, possibilities of investing in Poland and chances to open foreign banks there.

Impromptu Press Conference

Addressing a press conference organized impromptu, Mazowiecki said that his meeting with Belgian industrialists was a talk not only with observers of the economic processes in Poland but also with people willing to engage themselves in businesses in Poland.

He said he did not fear that foreign capital might start up a process of colonizing Poland, and added that what he feared more was stagnation.

Mazowiecki said that Poland was ready to accept West's assistance, both in political and legal terms. We are not, however, ready yet as concerns organizational matters, he added. That is why we do care so much for a "matrimonial agency", he said.

At Solidarity's Office

Prime Minister Mazowiecki paid a visit to the Solidarity coordinating bureau abroad headed by Jerzy Milewski. At present, the bureau deals with maintaining contacts with international labour organizations, with two of them having their headquarters here: The International Confederation of Free Trade unions and The World Confederation of Labour.

Mazowiecki voiced hope that the Brussels bureau would continue to be a mainstay of the Polish Solidarity abroad.

Meeting With Belgian Trade Unionists

I think that this meeting must have taken place, Mazowiecki told representatives of Belgian trade unions and international trade union councils. I have not forgotten my trade union origin and I do not intend to forget it, he added.

As prime minister, I think that there is a need for strong trade unions in our country. I agree with Lech Walesa that they must be pluralistic. We also want to see the development of cooperation between the Polish labour movement and trade unionists from other countries and international councils, he said.

Plenary Talks

In the evening, the sides held plenary talks chaired by the two prime ministers. They spoke about Belgium's contribution—both at the EC forum and in bilateral relations—to the process of Poland's economy joining europe.

So far, the Belgian Government has assigned 130 million francs to back the process of restructuring the Polish economy within the "phare" programme implemented by 24 states. Belgium will also help Poland train economic cadres within the EC project.

As concerns Belgian bilateral proposals, they referred to bigger credit guarantees—up to 3 billion francs in aid for agriculture. There are plans to create a Belgian-Polish foundation for promoting cooperation in this field. Poland can also expect cooperation in banking and finances. This year will also see a session of the Polish-Belgian Mixed Commission as a starting point for the intensification of joint-venture cooperation.

The sides discussed possibilities to facilitate the access of Polish goods to the Belgian market. The Polish side presented a list of 300 enterprises willing to establish cooperation.

Prime Minister Mazowiecki touched upon the question of Poland's 374-million dollar debt to Belgium. The sides resolved to hold a meeting of experts on the matter on Thursday.

As concerns politics, the sides agreed that there was a need to convene a top-level meeting of representatives of 35 states to coincide with the signing of the treaty on conventional arms reduction, expectedly still this year.

The sides discussed numerous proposals on European integration, including the initiative by the Polish prime minister to appoint a council of european cooperation.

Martens stated that Belgium would firmly support Poland's application to the council of Europe.

They also touched upon the German question and that of the Oder- Neisse border as an important element of Europe's stability.

Tadeusz Mazowiecki invited Wilfried Martens to pay an official visit to Poland.

After the conclusion of the plenary talks, Premier Martens gave a dinner in honour of Tadeusz Mazowiecki and the Polish delegation. Both prime ministers delivered toasts.

FRG Signs Labor Agreement

LD3101231390 Warsaw PAP in English 2219 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] Bonn, Jan. 31: Poland and the FRG signed an intergovernmental agreement at the the end of a four-day official visit to West Germany paid by Minister of Labour and Social policy Jacek Kuron at the invitation from Federal Minister of Labour and Social Affairs Norbert Bluem.

The governmental agreement, which replaces the agreement of the 1970s, specifies the principles of employing the Polish labour force by West German commissioners as a form of the Polish exports based on a contract for performing a specific task.

To date a Polish enterprise executing work here could employ on the FRG territory maximum 8,500 employees. This ceiling was raised currently to 11 thousand, with the maximum number of workers employed in housing construction not higher than 5 thousand. Moreover, the whole agreement has a better legal basis effectively protecting the interests of Polish workers.

Another result of Minister Kuron's visit here is the finalization of an agreement which enables some one thousand Poles to come here for a year-and-a-half paid training to improve their professional skills. The West German employers supported this idea and the agreement is expected to be signed soon.

Journalists Protest 'Skin-Deep' Media Changes

LD3101171390 Warsaw PAP in English 1619 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 31—In a statement presented to PAP, the main board of the SDP Polish Journalists' Association protests against "skin-deep transformations" in some Polish periodicals.

According to the statement this pertains to the editorial teams of the TRYBUNA LUDU, PERSPEKTYWY and SLOWO POWSZECHNE in which, as the statement stresses, "the new language remains only a packaging for the old totalitarian contents."

The main board also protested against the personnel policy of the management of the radio and television committee consisting in allowing people particularly discredited in previous years to host political programs.

Ex-PZPR Parliamentary Club Changes Name

LD3101220290 Warsaw PAP in English 2152 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 31—The Parliamentary Floor Group of the former Polish United Workers' Party (PUWP) changed its name today into the Parliamentary Floor Group of the Democratic Left Wing after a several-hour long discussion which brought its members to the decision on joint action.

An autonomous circle of the Social Democratic Union has been set up within the caucus.

Kwasniewski Speech at Founding Congress 28 Jan

AU3101151990 Warsaw TRYBUNA KONGRESOWA in Polish 29 Jan 90 p 17

[Speech by Aleksander Kwasniewski, chairman of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic, SDRP, at the SDRP founding congress in Warsaw on 28 January]

[Text] I have never liked the Congress Hall. It makes one lose one's sense of reality very quickly, and realism and a sense of reality is something that I urge everyone to display. Actually, the key issue at the moment is whether we vote for or against this program and statute. We can conduct this congress very efficiently. The democratic changes indicate that we truly are experts in this respect. However, what is taking place here is a great debate on the future of the Polish left. We can leave here pleased that the congress is over, but we have no place to return to.

We should think about what we are taking part in and about the influence that we can still exert on events. I believe that there are certain facts that cannot be overlooked, and we cannot close our eyes to what is happening in this hall, to what is happening in the neighboring halls, and to what is already a political fait accompli.

That we are experiencing the end of an era, the end of real socialism, is a fact. We can assess the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] critically to a greater or lesser extent. It definitely deserves to be fairly assessed. However, real socialism, in which we were involved to a greater or lesser extent, is over—as we can see with our very eyes. Today, the paralysis of structures and the force of habit are the greatest obstacles and difficulties that we face.

The question that we must ask ourselves and find an answer to is: Can we see the struggle through, can we rise above things, and can we find a path leading us to society? This is our major problem and, based on the chaos that I have observed since 4 June, I can say that we still have not found that path.

Poland today is being governed by new forces. We have to assume that they will rule longer than even our greatest optimists believe. We also have to tell ourselves clearly that these new forces vary greatly. I am open to dialogue; I have to say that apart from dialogue with people who think clearly and rationally, who are able to weigh up arguments and arrive at fair assessments, I have also come across the whole host of dangers that exist in those new forces. There are also children of our system among them. The children of the one party, of totalitarianism are also among them.

Do we want to continue to exist and operate as the left that is being kicked around because of the past and is disliked today, or do we think that this is not necessary, that this will somehow pass us by, that if we fade away, then we might be forgotten and somehow everything will take care of itself. My answer is unambiguous, and I have spoken about this several times: Poland needs a left, Poland needs a genuine democracy, a multiparty system, and a dialogue involving all forces. Poland needs genuine pluralism, not just slogans about pluralism. I cannot imagine it being possible to create a Poland without the participation of left-wing forces, regardless of how many of them there may be, and without the participation of those who were active on the PZPR side for the past 5, 10, 30 years. Both these people and I myself have a right to a public presence. I have a right to be politically active. We cannot just relinquish this right. I appeal to you to think in this way.

Various things can still happen in Poland. There is that democratic model that I support. We sometimes talk about Poland's presence in Europe. I choose to talk about this not because I want to dismiss national values and then be described as cosmopolitan, but to really demonstrate that we will not matter very much if we fail to recognize the changes that are taking place in Europe. So, for me Europe is not something that stands in opposition to national values. What does stand in opposition to Europe is provincialism, parochialism, xenophobia, and all those characteristics that we should get rid of as quickly as possible. We must do everything possible to make this system, our completely fresh, fledgling democracy, a completely pluralist, democratic, multiparty system.

This is because we face the danger of another alternative: the alternative of a new totalitarianism, in which we would have a new leading force, a single decisionmaking center, and in which everything would once again depend on a phone call to the chief. We know what that system is like, and we know what it produced.

Economic problems pose a real danger. I would like to say clearly that whatever kind of party it is, if it is a party that thinks in terms of the nation, society, and the state, it should be as cooperative as possible toward the new government and be ready to support it. However, it should not do so uncritically, because a partner who is uncritical does not count. A partner that counts is one that can make valuable contributions on his own, who has something to say, and who can make improvements and put forward other suggestions.

Today, as the force that governed Poland over the past years, we have one great achievement that cannot be wasted. It is the achievement of the specialists and personnel cadres, who have to find their place in a new reality. It is not a question of the interests of this or that party, but of the Polish interest. This is something that intelligent people in "Solidarity" understand.

If we survive the economic difficulties—and we will survive with our cooperation with and support for Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government, because we really do have to implement this anti-inflationary program—it does not mean we have to accept the restructuring of capitalism without any criticism. Economic difficulties will give rise to social conflicts. Those in the weakest material situation will be in danger. Many social groups will have difficulty with access to education, culture, sports, and health protection. There is a place for an energetic left wing in eliminating this difficulty.

We are at a congress to which we traveled along a very long road, but a road which I thought we had all chosen. This congress had, and still has, to attain three objectives.

First, it has to provide a sense of novelty. That is possible. We agreed on that during the debates by the Programmatic and Statutory Commissions, which were full of arguments, but also full of a desire to achieve a compromise.

The second objective we adopted was that the left wing should not emerge from the congress completely broken up. It was quite understandable that we are politically different, and this fact has been illustrated in this hall. But if we have to split up in this hall, we want to do so wisely.

It hurts me to say what I am about to say, because the political events that are taking shape here make it difficult to establish a dividing line. More and more people are confused, not knowing whether or not to join the Social Democratic Union.

I was afraid of this situation. I felt that if it had to occur, then it should have occurred a few months ago. That way we might have at least saved some of the costs of this congress. Today, however, our feeling of responsibility should make us see to it that the entire political debate takes place in this hall, in the presence of all the delegates.

And the third objective of this congress was to enable us to start rebuilding our credibility. That is a long process. It means that we have to abandon our old psychological laziness and our old reluctance to hold dialogue, undertake struggle, and win people over. We must dispense with what is the worst, with the things that saturated us in the past.

Something has already happened in this process of rebuilding credibility—a new program, statute, and name have emerged. With all due respect to our senior comrades, their decision not to join the authorities of the new party is also a part of this credibility- building process.

On the other hand, I will say quite frankly that I do not think that the fact that we are free to divide ourselves even further and to bar the door to anyone we want is a sign of our greater credibility. During the Social Democratic Union's meeting, it was said that the Union does not want a party to which these people or those people belong, to which I replied: All right, but what will happen if these people sign their names on the list of founders of the new party?

I am not asking for unity at any price. In fact, in a moment I will ask for something completely different, but only so that we may be honest toward ourselves, toward the communities we represent, and toward the delegates and their proposals.

What I am asking is that we should approach all these documents and this programmatic debate with all honesty and wisdom, and with the realization that we are not forming just another hybrid, not just another party, that will do nothing but seek internal compromise.

From this hall must emerge perhaps two or three intelligently demarcated parties that cooperate with each other. These must be parties that possess their own identity and social base, that know how to represent it, and that are capable of communicating with each other. But all this must take place on the basis of a debate on the documents which have been prepared with such difficulty and placed before the delegates. These documents should provide the basis of our activity.

I would like to hear the arguments of those who have their own ideas and do not accept what has been written down. I would like to hear a real debate on the subject of a name for the new party, whether it should be social democratic or socialist. That way we will know that the party is not just a broken pot that has been glued back together, but a completely new vessel, with a new way of thinking and action with which we can face society.

That is why I would like us all to consider this really dramatic, crucial, and historic moment for the entire Polish left wing. Which solutions should we adopt?

It is not true that faulty decisions made here can be repaired later. If they can be repaired, that is only possible with great losses, losses which will not only affect us, but also Polish democracy, pluralism, and the whole of Polish society.

Mazowiecki on Democratic Changes, CEMA

AU2001095390 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 12 Jan 90 p 3

[Report on interview with Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki, by "R.M." in Sofia; date not given: "Mazowiecki: The Changes Should Not Lead to A Balcanization of Europe"]

[Text] Tadeusz Mazowiecki, chairman of the Solidarity-led Polish Government, gave an interview to NEPSZABADSAG during one of the recesses of the CEMA conference in Sofia. He spoke about cooperation in East Europe and about the prospects for the Polish economy and policy.

["R.M."] When can Polish-Hungarian-CSSR integration become reality?

[Mazowiecki] At this meeting, I felt that the members did not discard the possibility of such cooperation. Almost everyone regards as useful the creation of bilateral or even multilateral cooperation circles. The creation of such cooperation circles could be the main line of a radical reorganization of CEMA. However, an agreement on principles is not enough. Hopefully, the experts will soon work out the practical details of shifting to small integration.

["R.M."] Your government has set out the goal to create a market economy, and, therefore, it also had to take unpopular measures. Despite the constant price increases and the galloping inflation, the Solidarity-led government enjoys the confidence of the population. Where is the tolerance limit?

[Mazowiecki] The extraordinary measures mentioned by you are inevitable if, at long last, we want real reforms and want to build a healthy economy. Despite difficulties, the Polish people understood this. We would like to halt inflation and, according to our experts, our economic situation will normalize by the coming summer and the wave of price increases, which is still inevitable, will end. As of 1 January this year, we have made the zloty convertible on the domestic market. This also means that the enterprises do not have a predetermined hard currency fund and they can order anything from the West through the bank, naturally under adequate taxation. We have considerably devalued the zloty compared to the Western currencies, so that it has only one exchange rate now in practice.

["R.M."] Mr Premier, you are a Solidarity leader. How do you view the future of this organization?

[Mazowiecki] Solidarity is still both a trade union and a mass movement. As a mass movement, it naturally might develop further, and it is difficult to foresee the final result of this development. It might stay as one movement, but I can also imagine a split into several parties. One thing is certain, namely that we do not want to become a mass party. However, we regard its unity as important.

["R.M."] What is your view of the recent changes in East Europe?

[Mazowiecki] I consider the democratic changes of recent months to be a positive development. At the same time, I would welcome a development that does not lead to what political history would call the Balcanization of Europe. In order to avoid this, there is an absolute need for stability and cooperation between people and countries in this region.

["R.M."] Is anything threatening this stability today?

[Mazowiecki] I hope not.

Rakowski on Nation's 'Disillusionment'

PM3001095890 Lodz GLOS ROBOTNICZY in Polish 16-17 Dec 89 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Mieczyslaw Rakowski, Polish United Workers Party Central Committee first secretary, by GAZETA ROBOTNICZA correspondent Andrzej Hampel—date and place not given]

[Text] [Hampel] We are approaching the 11th Congress under conditions which pose extreme difficulties for the party. These difficulties include pressure from a proportion of the party's grass roots, which have been turning increasingly radical since the recent electoral defeat. I say "a proportion" because a not inconsiderable proportion of Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] members are perfectly indifferent. Who knows whether they are not simply biding time until their membership lapses?

How different this is from the atmosphere before the Ninth Congress...

[Rakowski] The situation in the country was altogether different then, as was the position of the party. The PZPR was the ruling party then. It commanded the leading role in the state system, and this is why we cannot compare the positions, attitudes, and emotions of that time with the situation as it is today.

Today the PZPR is a party which has handed over power to a group representing a different political orientation. Here I find it difficult to define and describe that group, because the press has already been using the concept of a Polish Right which has assumed power in the country.

However, let us return to our main subject. At the time, before the Ninth Congress, regardless of the nature of the various currents present within the PZPR, a fighting mood prevailed among the active and aware groups in the party. It was a kind of euphoria felt at the realization that we were actually offered an opportunity to make significant changes both in party policy and party orientation. Today we experience the reverse situation. The prevailing mood is one of apathy and disillusionment...

[Hampel] It is simply a sense of defeat...

[Rakowski] Defeat. Yes. And perhaps it will be difficult to convince people, with the arguments I am about to use, that this defeat is in fact only illusory. This is because the real defeat took place much earlier, when it became obvious that the economic and social policy that we pursued failed to bring us the desired support from the population. Consequently, what happened last year did not in fact amount to a defeat.

In the first place, it amounted to an acknowledgment of the actual state of affairs, however unpleasant it may have been for a party which, after all, held undivided power for more than 40 years.

Naturally, I am bound to see these things in a different light from an average "grass roots" party member, especially as the latter now regularly encounters manifestations of triumph, aggression, and generalized intolerance from those who were once our opponents and whom we came to regard as a group with whom it was advisable and indeed necessary to cooperate for the sake of the good of the nation and the state.

Here let me stress again that anyone who wants to retain an untroubled conscience must start by acknowledging reality—and the reality was that a large proportion of the public had long refused to accept us as a result of the methods we used in our exercise of power. Today these same people accept, for instance, very drastic measures introduced by the Mazowiecki government. It is obvious to me that if the government which I headed had announced similarly harsh and uncompromising decisions, it would have stood no chance of implementing them and would have enjoyed no support whatsoever.

If I were the person to announce the "soup kitchen" campaign, you can just imagine the outcry it would have caused in Poland—and not only among our political adversaries either, but also in the ranks of our own comrades. They would have said: "Rakowski has gone mad. He is leading us to capitalism." And that would have been the end of my career as premier—but not as it actually happened, as a result of a change in the balance of power or the consequence of election results. I would have been simply declared either a madman or someone who holds the nation and the working class in deep contempt.

However, today a major proportion of Polish society offers its silent or active support to the Mazowiecki government because, as I have heard more than once, it is "our government." Well, since it is our government, it should of course be given a carte blanche for whatever moves it decides to introduce, even if they are to be quite drastic.

[Hampel] During many debates on the future party model we hear the charge that the debate is dominated by those who are less interested in the future electoral success of the Left and more—or, rather, mainly—in preserving the assets still in the party's possession. The occasional and somewhat timid warnings about the need for unity are received distrustfully and regarded as yet more attempts to manipulate things... Has the party's self-preservation instinct weakened or disappeared altogether? Are we witnessing a deliberate drift toward self-destruction?

[Rakowski] If we treat party discussion as an element of the necessary intellectual revitalization, I will always be an eager advocate of such a revitalization. In fact, I cannot see how the party could function without it. But with regard to the drift and the tenor of that discussion, and the reasons behind this very welcome explosion of activity, they are doubtless varied and manifold. I get the impression that one of major trends in the discussion is the desire to prove to the public that we are no longer what we used to be. Another is the eagerness to win over the politically awakened public with the slogan: "You can trust us." A third current is exemplified by the following maxim: "If we shout very loudly in condemnation of the past, of Stalinism, and of all our errors, we will surely win support and acclaim."

Here we enter a sphere of personal concerns. The question arises of where we should try to win that acclaim. Naturally, within our own milieu, and we should make sure that the reaction is: "Well, X is so determined to criticize the past and to disavow it that we surely can put our trust in him,"—or, rather, "that we can tolerate him and will refrain from reproaching him." This illustrates another argument present in the current party discussion—perhaps even one of the foremost motives.

What worries me in the current party discussion? I am concerned about its "confessional" aspect, since our party has been beating its breast hard and resoundingly for years. No other political group has indulged in this practice. For example, Solidarity, whose leaders know only too well the mistakes they have made, is not making a show of contrition. Incidentally, let me add here that Solidarity has not gotten rid of any of its members, whereas we have been busily throwing overboard one man after another, be he higher or lower in the leadership echelons.

I am also concerned about the fact that certain people believe that as long as they vilify the past hard enough, everything will be all right in the end. I do not quarrel with those who admit that we have made many mistakes—after all, there are no political formations or movements which do not make mistakes, especially at times of revolution—but we do also have many achievements to our credit, and I will defy anyone to negate these. Unfortunately, I am afraid that some follow a more complex line of reasoning which goes as follows: "I will keep quiet about any past achievements because I might be suspected of being too attached to the past, and we know very well that we must renounce the past vigorously and in no uncertain terms." It is unfortunate that the unqualified criticism of the past coincides with the relentless criticism from our political opponent—the latter not to be confused with our enemy.

It has occurred to me to wonder why the so-called average party member is expected to be active and dynamic and why he should defend the party when he forever hears that we must discard everything in our past and relegate it to the trash heap. And so in this sense your question about a subconscious or even deliberate self-destructive drive is absolutely relevant.

I do not know of any other political movement that would be so insistent on renouncing its past and, consequently, its entire identity. I certainly do not intend to minimize everything that was wrong in party policy, but why on earth should we not emphasize the undeniable achievements? They are very real. Sadly, however, this appears to be a kind of sharp bend at which many a driver loses control over his vehicle.

[Hampel] We are very fond of quoting the relevance of the Hungarian experience, but even that does not prompt us to deeper reflection. After all, the new Hungarian Socialist Party—to which, incidentally, we extend our best wishes—comprises only a negligible proportion of the erstwhile base, whereas a much larger proportion of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party is grouped around Karoly Grosz. And we have so far failed to draw any conclusions from this...

[Rakowski] But we do not even have full information on the extent to which these "bold" formulations and calls to make a complete and clean break with the past find support among the party grassroots. This is our basic problem.

I do not know. Perhaps you have a much clearer perspective on it from Lodz than we have here in Warsaw, but I have my doubts whether this attitude is really widely supported.

[Hampel] It tends to attract support among small, dynamic groups of intellectuals...

[Rakowski] It may be so, but if you print this, we will immediately be accused of promoting anti-intelligentsia attitudes. This is precisely the paradoxical side of this whole issue. After all, we are both representatives of the intelligentsia.

I believe that it is a sad state of affairs when the interpretation of democracy is narrowed to the following declaration: If you accept my arguments, you are a reformer. If you do not, you are a conservatist who defends his position and those of the whole apparatus.

[Hampel] But this is precisely the interpretation favored by some comrades. Either you approve our platform at the congress, or we will create a splinter group and leave the future party.

[Rakowski] I would beg to be excused from participation in this kind of democracy. I am being reproached for keeping silent and refusing to state my position on fundamental issues. It is indeed true that I do not take sides with regard to individual policy platforms and and attitudes, because, should I do so and declare myself in favor of one or other particular platform, I could be charged with attempting to "rig" the discussion even before the congress!

It is a shame to admit it, but there is still much we have to do if the spirit of tolerance is not to remain an empty formula quoted in a number of documents instead of becoming a living, practised virtue.

It is disheartening in the extreme to hear that X is conservatively minded because he refuses to recognize somebody else's views. We recently had a classic example of this sort of reasoning on the part of Mieczyslaw Krajewski, who worked in the Central Committee in the seventies, in the sector run by Lukaszewicz. He used to pay us visits at the POLITYKA offices and sort us all out, charging us with all the seven deadly sins and more. Managerial practices, defeatism: You name it, he would accuse us of it. These days he is active in the Working People's Movement.

During the latest Central Committee plenum he came out with a proposal to postpone the congress until April so that the party could split up before it became united again!

This really was his suggestion: to split the party up! Each separate platform should first have its own congress, at which delegates would be selected, and then the main congress could take place. We suggested that the letter be read at the Central Committee plenum, but the then "sponsor" of the letter did agree with us that the proposed postponement would be a most unfortunate idea. Consequently, I suggested that we should invite comrades to a Politburo session, explain why the whole conception was fallacious—because it was indeed fallacious—and caution them that the plenum would unequivocally reject it. And this was what we did. In other words, we took a democratic decision. Krajewski still warned us: "We shall see who comes up top," but a few days later we received from him a letter saying that he was resigning from the party because the Politburo failed to accept his proposal! In other words, if the Politburo had accepted it, everything would have been in order.

[Hampel] The right side of our political landscape is fairly well-defined. How do you, comrade, assess the Polish Left? What are its chances, its arguments, and its strength?

[Rakowski] Although the term "Polish Left" is a capacious and imprecise concept, the actual orientation is very real. Regardless of the organizational forms to which it will lend itself, as an ideological and political orientation it is a historical fact, and this cannot be denied. After all, it would be ridiculous to claim that the whole population is of the rightwing orientation!

The Left is a much wider concept than the PZPR. It makes itself apparent in Solidarity's ranks, among deputies hailing from a variety of parliamentary floor groups, in Catholic and peasant circles, and in the new political groups. In other words, it makes up a multicolored map.

[Hampel] To conclude, I would like to ask you about a matter which has provoked much curiosity and speculation, that is, the letter to the Socialist International which you, comrade, recently forwarded courtesy of the head of the Italian Socialist Party, Bettino Craxi...

[Rakowski] I believe that the party we are going to establish should be nurtured from two sources. First, from the source of Polish socialism, whose traditions go back more than 100 years and which boasts not only its fill of noble ideals but also a great number of fine figures who pledged their lives to the struggle for freedom and social justice. This source dried up during a certain period, after the Communist Party of Poland adopted the set of concepts and the ideology following from the Third International.

The second source, in my opinion, should be found in the ideas of West European socialist thinkers. Even if they wore the "communist" label, their theories, programs, and visions of future social systems made them, effectively, advocates of socialism.

This is why I believe that if the congress forms a socialist party, it will be a new party not only in the name but in the change of orientation. It will be a party striving to assume power in the course of the parliamentary process and therefore it will enter into the sphere of West European influence. And this is, in my view, inevitable.

Consequently, we now need to look for contacts with the socialist orientation in the West, also to convince it that the position of the left wing orientation in Poland is shared by that of the whole party today. That it is a Left which has consciously distanced itself from the Stalinist and post-Stalinist conception of socialism.

I believe that the future of the left wing orientation in Poland depends, among other things, on its ability to join the worldwide current of progressive, socialist thinking. Whether this will be successful will depend on what degree of mature thinking we manage to demonstrate during the congress.

The idea of our party's splintering into a number of separate groups during the congress fills me with dread when I think about the extremely negative consequences that this would bring for the progressive camp in Poland. The Polish Left would then have to leave the history-making scene for long years to come, and Polish society would lose the force which allows it—and should continue to allow it—to protect the vital interests of the working people. I believe that the working class of Lodz, and especially the men and women employed in the Lodz textile industries, will give firm support to my position. I count on them in my effort to establish a party which should never disappoint their expectations.

[Hampel] Thank you for talking to us.

Michnik Prescribes European Cultural Diversity

LD2901195990 Warsaw PAP in English 1845 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 29—In his article headlined "Showdown," carried by today's GAZETA WYBORCZA daily, Adam Michnik wrote:

"Stalin really was a tyrant of exceptional genius: Blood in the streets of Armenian and Azerbaijan cities is another evidence of this. The tactics of "divide et impera", the strategy consisting in putting everybody at variance with everybody else is prevailing in the whole Soviet empire today. When the firm grip of totalitarian terror has loosened and the Soviet Pandora's box has opened, apart from the most wonderful people, defenders of democracy and humanism, there have appeared demons as well.

The explosion of chauvinism is a degenerated form of revenge for the tens of years of violation of national identity and compulsory Sovietization but at the same time it is also a natural ideology of the horrified nomenklatura which embarks on self-defense, wrote the daily.

"We have got used to linking the decay of communism with the values of humanism and pluralist democracy, with the names of Sakharov, Havel, Kis, with solidarity and Neues Forum. But this process denotes also Soviet mathematician Shafarevich and the organization "Pamyat". There are also anti-Polish excesses in the GDR and anti-Turkish in Bulgaria. It is a return to the public discussion on the idea "of the Catholic state of the Polish nation", and anti-Semitism, the more absurd as Poland is a country without Jews.

Michnik went on to say that if Europe were to become the "common home", then the USSR would have to cease to be a common prison. This obvious fact has to be reiterated in the discussions concerning the scope of ethnic conflicts. However, the common prison may turn into a separated one if Central and Eastern Europe are dominated by xenophobia, intolerance or something like Le Pen's ideology. The chance for Europe consists in the diversity of national cultures, a mixture of various traditions which give rise to richness.

"If chauvinism wins, then our springtide of nations will turn into the new war of nations. Historians will set the date and the place of its breakout: January 1990, the Armenian-Azerbaijan border," Michnik wrote.

'Sharp Fall' Seen in Job Vacancies

LD3101213390 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] In January, according to data of the Central Planning Office, a new situation regarding the employment market became evident. In comparison to the third quarter of last year, a sharp fall in the number of job vacancies occurred and, at the same time, the number of people looking for work increased. The first mass layoffs were made. In Warsaw, in 11 enterprises and in several voivodships, the first unemployed have been registered.

Regarding production, the light, timber, furniture, and petrochemical industries are having problems with the sale of ready-made products. The price and demand barrier is widening and includes not only dairy and meat products, but also cement, furniture, footwear, and artificial fertilizers. There are numerous examples of private service, craft and retail enterprises being closed down. In Warsaw, during 3 weeks in January, 867 enterprises gave up their activity altogether, and 1,252 were temporarily deregistered.

GUS Issues 1989 Socioeconomic Report

LD2901233990 Warsaw PAP in English 2133 GMT 29 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 29—The Main Statistical Office (GUS) published today a communique on the socioeconomic situation in Poland in 1989. The communique reads in part:

In 1989 the area of economy subjected to market mechanisms was expanded and the private sector operated on a larger scale.

The economic situation was marked by deep inequilibrium, high inflation and check in growth.

Over the first six months there was a production growth in industry and housing construction but it was lower than in the previous years. Inflation processes were speeded up.

In the second half of 1989 there was a rapid price rise, falling production trends observed at the end of the first half of last year were growing stronger. The beginning of the second half of last year was marked by a sharp aggravation of market disequilibrium whereas the end of 1989 was marked by a certain fall in demand due to a decrease in the purchasing power of the population incomes and money resources. This led to a certain appeasement on the market.

Population

According to estimated data the population amounted to 37.9 million people on December 31, 1989 (it grew by 155,000 against the end of 1988).

Employment

The average number of people employed in the national economy amounted to 17.3 million people and was lower by 0.7 percent if compared with 1988.

The fall in employment in material production was bigger (it went down by about 5 percent). At the same time the number of people employed in the private sector (apart from private farms) went up by 27 percent (from 1,179,000 in 1988 to 1,500,000 in 1989).

The production of basic raw and intermediate materials was on a low level from the beginning of 1989.

National Income, Finances

The national income produced in the socialized sector went down by 2.5 percent and the national income generated in the private sector grew by about 11-12 percent.

During the 11 months of 1989, the state budget revenues reached 22.8 trillion zlotys and went up by 158.2 percent if compared with the same period of 1988. The expenditure amounted to 26.6 trillion zlotys and grew by 213.6 percent.

After 11 months the state budget deficit amounted to 3.8 trillion zlotys.

Prices

In 1989 average prices obtained by producers in the food- processing industry were 3.9 times bigger than in 1989.

In December 1989 the average level of retail prices of consumer goods and services went up by 640 percent if compared with December 1988. The price growth of foodstuffs was the biggest as it reached on the average 878 percent.

At the end of 1989 the population's money resources amounted to 17.8 trillion zlotys with cash resources reaching 9.3 trillion zlotys, and savings-bank deposits—8.5 trillion zlotys. The money resources were nearly three times higher than in 1988 but their purchasing power was by 60 percent lower against high price rises.

Remuneration

According to estimates the average monthly pay in the socialized economy in 1989 amounted to about 205,000 zlotys.

Living Costs

In 1989 living costs went up by about 254 percent if compared with 1988.

Home Market

In 1989 the situation on the market was gradually deteriorating. As early as the first half of 1989 the supply of goods and services was behind the growing demand which was not balanced by price growth. In the second half of 1989 the area of disequilibrium was broadening as it covered both consumer goods and foodstuffs.

New Apartments and Welfare Facilities

The number of flats completed in 1989 amounted to 149,000 and was the smallest one in more than 26 years. Only 4 flats were completed per 1,000 people (in 1980's the index was 4.9-5.0, and in 1978—8.1)

New Economic Units

At the end of 1989 economic activity was conducted by 786,000 natural persons and organizational units without a legal status. The figure included 294,000 newly established units.

In Decmeber 1989 the number of state enterprises, cooperatives, companies, foundations, and organizational units without a legal status that conducted economic activity amounted to 44,800.

The figure included 10,700 state enterprises and organizational units without a legal status (737 were set up in 1989—including 363 state units), 17,500 cooperatives (1,100 newly established). 64 state-owned companies were registered.

Industry

In 1989 sold production of the socialized industry in constant prices was lower by 3.4 percent if compared with 1988. (In comparable working time it was lower by 1.9 percent).

Production in the private sector went up considerably (by about 26 percent). This did not make up for the production fall in the socialized sector. Production of the entire industry in constant prices was lower by nearly 2 percent than in 1988.

Agriculture

In 1989 global agricultural production went up by about 2 percent against 1988, with vegetable production growing by more than 4 percent and animal production falling by about 1 percent.

Foreign Trade

An upward tendency in foreign trade turnover observed in the previous years was halted in 1989. At the end of 1989 the growth rate of imports and exports calculated in constant prices was by 0.7 percent lower than in 1988.

The foreign trade surplus with socialist countries was higher by 955 million roubles than the one obtained in 1988 and by 2,059 million roubles higher than the one reached in 1987. The foreign trade surplus with capitalist countries was lower by 267 million U.S. dollars than the one obtained in 1988, and by 492 million U.S. dollars lower than the surplus in 1987.

The results of trade turnover were favourably influenced by price conditions of the exchange rate namely, in trade with socialist countries the terms of trade index amounted to 103.7, and its favourable influence on the turnover balance is estimated at about 419 million roubles. In trade with capitalist countries the index of terms of trade amounted to 101.3 and its favourable influence on the turnover balance is estimated at about 115 million U.S. dollars.

At the end of November 1989 Poland's foreign debt totalled 5.9 billion transfer roubles and was by 0.6 billion roubles lower than at the end of 1988. Poland's hard currency debt calculated in U.S. dollars amounted to 40 billion at the end of November 1989 and was higher by 0.8 billion U.S. dollars than at the end of 1988.

Under the programme of government aid granted to Poland by the EC countries and the United States, since August 1989 Polish foreign trade enterprises organizing distribution in Poland received goods amounting to 88 million U.S. dollars.

At the end of 1989 there were more than 3,000 units, including 115 foreign trade enterprises (96 in 1988), engaged in trade exchange. Enterprises specializing in foreign trade had still a decisive share in trade and exchange of services with foreign partners. In 1989 their share in exports amounted to 84.3 percent (in 1988—90.9 percent), and in imports—91.4 percent (in 1988—96.1 percent).

Comparison of Rakowski 27 Jan Congress Speech

AU3101144990

Warsaw TRYBUNA KONGRESOWA in Polish on 29 January on pages 7-9 carries the 9,000-word speech by Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party, at the party's 11th and final congress in Warsaw on 27 January. Comparison with the Warsaw Domestic Service Polish version published in the 29 January East Europe DAILY REPORT, pages 74-81, allows for the following fills and clarifications:

page 77, column two, first partial paragraph, last sentence reads: ...Catholic Church, whose involvement and sensitivities as... (supplying queried word)

same page, same column, first full paragraph, first sentence reads: ...dangerous in its significance and effects. Old... (supplying queried word)

same page, same column, second full paragraph, first sentence reads: ...background of these transformations and the emergence of favorable and disturbing phenomena, we ought to... (rephrasing, deleting editorial notation)

same page, same column, last paragraph, sentences four and five read: ...unequivocal, convincing reply. One thing is certain: The... (supplying queried words)

page 78, column two, third full paragraph, sentence five reads: ...clear that its key representatives cannot be... (supplying queried words)

same page, same column, last paragraph, first sentence reads: ...so let's not issue premature judgments. These... (clearing queried word)

page 80, first column, last paragraph, second sentence reads: ...disregard, let alone ridicule or refer to... (supplying indistinct word)

same page, column two, second full paragraph, only sentence reads: ...the congress hall through a few doors, and there are... (rephrasing, deleting editorial notation)

Brucan Affirms Separation of NSF Activity

AU3101201990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1826 GMT 31 Jan 90

["Toward Separating Political Activity From State Power in Romania"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 31/1/1990—In an interview for the daily "ROMANIA LIBERA," Silviu Brucan, member of the National Salvation Front Council, answered a question whether the Front was or not provisional and said that he did not know of any authorized declaration in this respect. The impression that we have limited mandate and are only temporarily in power was created by our adversaries to prevent us from taking part in the elections and ensure their victory in elections. Quite the reverse, I stated from the very beginning that the Front would take part in the elections. In a declaration to "FINANCIAL TIMES" Silviu Brucan said that the National Salvation Front would take part in the elections as a political force although they would not be a party, but would field candidates. In "LE MONDE" he said that the Front would present candidates everywhere, would participate in the scrutiny, but would hand out the power to the government emanated by the parliamentary majority.

In connection with the reproaches of some political parties that the Front will also be a "player" and an "arbiter" in the 20 May elections, Silviu Brucan showed that the accusation was true. In its December 22 declaration the Front asserted the principles of the separation of powers which it has not yet applied. I consider this principle as central to a democracy. But the principle of the separation of powers in the state can be applied only after the elections, when legislative power is vested in the parliament, different from and independent of the executive power (the government and the president) and the judicial power. For the time being we shall try to delimitate the state organ with legislative power, in which the other political parties could take part in one form or another and which would run the country until the 20 May elections. As the National Salvation Front has turned into a political organism entering into the election contest, it must have its won status, different from and independent of the state organ vested with legislative power mentioned above. Hence, we must find a generally acceptable solution under which the arbiter is not a player too. I believe and hope that by constructive cooperation with the other parties we shall solve this problem.

Asked "how long will take the Front to apply one of its first decrees concerning the separation of political activity from the state power," he answered: "We set to ourselves to do it in the near future."

Answering a question whether representatives of the three parties with which discussions were conducted on 28 January would take part in the 1 February meeting, Silviu Brucan mentioned: "When we departed on Sunday evening, they promised they would come, and suggested that each party be represented by three delegates, which was accepted. Anyhow, over 15 parties have been registered until now: we shall discuss and take decisions with those present. One thing we learned from the experience of the meeting with the three parties, where pledges were not kept, is that from now on we should meet with all parties."

Proposal To Be Made to Opposition

AU3101133790 Paris AFP in English 1232 GMT 31 Jan 90

[By Milan Dragovic]

[Excerpt] Bucharest, Jan 31 (AFP)—The political crisis in Romania might ease as a result of an offer by the governing National Salvation Front (NSF) to opposition parties to join a national provisional council, observers said here Wednesday.

In a statement to AFP late Tuesday [30 January], one of the leading members of the NSF, Silviu Brucan, said that the proposal would be made officially during a meeting between the NSF and the opposition on Thursday. The NSF would be divided into two entities, he said. "The national provisional council holding (executive) power and legislative activities on one hand, and on the other the NSF which would take part in the elections as a political body." He said: "We are going to propose to the parties that they should participate in the national provisional council to guarantee that the elections are objective."

This solution is in line with demands by the three main opposition parties, the National Peasant Party, the Liberal Party, and the Social Democratic Party. They had called for the foundation of a "council of national unity" open to all political groups and charged with supervising the electoral campaign and the voting on May 20.

The National Peasant Party expressed satisfaction with the proposal on Wednesday, but said that it was behind the proposal. [sentence as received] "The Front accepted the proposal which we made on Sunday," the party secretary general Valentin Gabrielescu told AFP. But he stressed that the problem of dividing seats within the future national provisional council remained. The opposition has proposed that this body should have 100 seats, and that it should hold two thirds of them, he said. This was justified because the three parties were "legitimate" on an "historic" basis since they had taken part in elections in 1946. Mr. Gabrielescu said that the national provisional council would be "the legislative body in Romania until forthcoming elections".

At a press conference on Monday, Mr Brucan had described as justified the opposition charge that the NSF had "violated the principle of the separation of executive power and legislative power". "For the moment, one should draw the line, as far as is possible under revolutionary conditions, between the three powers (executive, legislative and judicial) in an embryonic way." But he did not rule out that in this way one could move towards "a division of power" between the NSF and the opposition.

There was no information regarding the representation by other opposition parties. Mr. Brucan said that the proposal was open to all parties, of which at least 28 have so far been registered officially. [passage omitted]

NSF, Political Parties Begin Roundtable

AU0102111690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0944 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 1/2/1990—In the morning of 1 February, the proceedings of a roundtable started in Bucharest attended by leaders of the National Salvation Front and of the political parties formed in Romania after the revolution of 22 December 1989.

Opinion Poll on Postponement of Elections

AU0102112290 Bucharest ROMPRES in Enlish 0953 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 1/2/1990—The findings of an opinion poll conducted last month on whether or not to hold elections in April are published by "ROMANIA LIBERA" today. The respondents are urban and rural residents from various walks of life in the 25-to-over-65 age-bracket. Of the total, 204,811 said yes, 1,062 - no, 164 were undecided, and 7 said nothing at all.

The most numerous groups which opted against were intellectuals (472), workers (203), pensioners (149), and office workers (125).

The conclusion: the NSF [National Salvation Front] Council's decision to postpone the elections has a fairly stable basis.

Roman Affirms Commitment To Democracy

AU3101173690 Paris AFP in English 1711 GMT 31 Jan 90

[by Bernard Estrade]

[Text] Bucharest, Jan 31 (AFP)—Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman, responding to U.S. concern at violence against opposition party offices by pro-government demonstrators here, said Wednesday his administration remained committed to democracy.

In an exclusive interview with AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE, Mr. Petre also said the interim leadership, criticised increasingly for misusing power, would not resign, although "it is possible it will be enlarged in the near future" to include other groups.

Fears expressed by Washington about the future of democracy in Romania "may seem justified from a distance", he said, however: "We shall never abdicate our democratic principles".

The U.S. State Department said Tuesday the United States was "deeply troubled" by Monday's incidents, in which Romanian opposition premises were attacked and leaders had to be protected by police.

Washington said the demonstrators had been mobilized by members of the Salvation Front, which has ruled Romania since the overthrow of president Nicolae Ceausescu on December 22.

However Mr. Petre said demonstrations in support of the government and against the opposition were "spontaneous" and followed an "attempted coup d'etat" by opposition parties who organized a rally a day earlier as a show of force.

Speaking in French during the interview at National Salvation Council Front headquarters, Mr. Petre said he personally limited the size of Monday's protests by dissuading many government supporters from coming to Bucharest.

He also recalled he had tried to calm the crowd that attacked the Peasant Party headquarters.

His administration had "never encouraged the anger of citizens" and has always "asked for dialogue", he added.

Mr. Petre said an offer made by a senior member of the government to set up a separate "provisional national council" to supervise elections was "irrefutable proof of our democratic will".

Silviu Brucan said Tuesday night that Romanian political parties would be invited to join the new body.

The council, according to Mr. Roman, would mean "separation" of the Front into a political movement on one hand, and a body holding legislative power on the other.

"From tomorrow", he said, "the council which respresents legislative and executive power would have to function independently of political power".

Meanwhile the interim government "must be enlarged and include representatives of several political forces, but it remains (to determine) what the criteria for this enlargement will be".

Mr. Petre said he had not seen the statement from Washington and he did not comment on reports from there that U.S. Secretary of State James Baker would not stop in Romania during his upcoming Soviet visit.

He also refused to say whether he would be a candidate in general elections scheduled for May 20. "I must consider my responsibilities," he said, adding that he had "received many proposals".

The prime minister, popular among government militants and generally spared the criticism levelled at some members of the leadership, also confirmed dissension existed within the administration.

He said the government was "a body where there are opponents of choices and initiatives proposed by the executive".

Roman Meets Trade Union Representatives

AU3101220090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2020 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 31/1/1990—A meeting started at the Headquarters of the Romanian Government between Prime Minister Petre Roman and representatives of the trade unions from the metallurgical combines of Hunedoara and Resita. Several aspects are approached related to the improvement of the metal workers' living and working conditions, of the productive activity as a whole. The meeting is attended by Ispas Morega, deputy minister of labour and social security.

The same day, the trade union representatives had talks with Ion Chesa, minister of metallurgy.

Roman Explains Decision on Communist Party

PM3001162890 Madrid DIARIO 16 in Spanish 21 Jan 90 p 18

[Santiago Aroca report on interview with Prime Minister Petre Roman by a "small group of important newspapers" in Bucharest; date not given]

[Text] Bucharest—In the following statements Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman justifies the Romanian provisional government's recent decision to legalize the Communist Party. According to Roman, only "fascist regimes ban the communists' activities."

[Interviewer] Inside and outside Romania, it is believed that there are too many Communists in the government; that in fact only Ceausescu fell, but the idea of the socialist state persists. Is it incorrect to believe that you do not wish to dismantle the socialist structures?

[Roman] Within the government and the National Salvation Front there are a good many people who belonged to the Communist Party. This is true; but in my opinion it has no special significance. That is, none of them committed crimes or was connected with the despotic actions committed by Ceausescu. Moreover, in a country in which the Communist Party had 3 million members, it would be difficult for the administration to rid itself of Communists overnight. It is not we, the provisional government and the National Salvation Front, who must define Romania's character: socialist or otherwise. That task rests with the Romanian people. We are a transitional administration which will last a few months, as little as possible; then we will have elections. When the ministers in the provisional government arrive at their offices, they hang up their ideology on the coatrack. We are technocrats with the task of making possible the first democratic elections Romania will experience in its entire history.

[Interviewer] A few days ago, you banned the Communist Party, but later you promised a referendum, and then everything ended with the Communist Party's relegalization. Why did you contradict yourselves so often in just 4 days?

[Roman] The intention of all members of the government is to interpret the population's wishes in order to avert violent situations. In principle, the population seemed to be calling for the Communist Party to be banned; that is why we acceded to their wishes and called the referendum, in which the abolition of the death penalty would also be put to the vote.

Following an initial decision taken too early under the influence of the people assembled in front of the government offices on the national day of mourning, the National Salvation Front Council plenum took a unanimous decision to cancel the referendum for two reasons. The first is technical—that is, right now we do not have the ability to hold a referendum. We have neither an electoral register, nor an electoral law, nor the atmosphere for conducting a national debate on the matters put to referendum.

The second reason is political. Only fascist regimes ban the Communist Party's activities. The Communist Party is banned in no European country. There is no instance. Why would we, who are seeking the broadest possible democracy with the fewest possible restrictions, set out by banning parties? Certainly, a ban would create problems for us with some of our neighbors, where the Communist Party plays an important role.

I personally believe that the Communist Party has no raison d'etre in Romanian society. It is a completely discredited party which everybody hates. For that reason, I do not believe that anybody will seek to rebuild it—that is, in practice it will cease to exist.

[Interviewer] You also seem to have canceled the referendum because you were afraid of losing it, especially with respect to the death penalty, which seems to be very popular in this country....

[Roman] Personally, I am opposed to the death penalty under any circumstances. I do not believe that the Romanian people would have supported it. Your assertion is supported by no evidence. There is no opinion poll to say that the "yes" vote would have won in this country. Romanian culture is deeply humane....

[Interviewer] Yet Nicolae Ceausescu and his wife were executed without being given the opportunity to defend themselves. They did not have a trial with safeguards; rather, the law of the jungle with which they had governed was applied to them.

[Roman] Unfortunately, they were executed under conditions of civil war. Their deaths prevented further bloodshed. Personally, I would have liked to see them in the dock, as I imagine all Romanians would. But that was not possible, because of the country's circumstances. We promised that nobody else would be executed, and we have kept our word.

[Interviewer] There is considerable social unease because of the delay in holding the trials of several senior officials of the previous regime. Will they eventually be tried?
[Roman] Of course. The trials have not begun, although I hope that they will do so immediately, because the government wants the defendants to enjoy every legal safeguard. They will have the best lawyers, and the charges will be based on the greatest amount of evidence. Democracy means unanimity [as published], and we wish to be generous to our oppressors: We will give them an opportunity which they denied to thousands of people.

"Everybody Was Conspiring Against Dictator"

[Interviewer] The impression is that the popular uprising against Ceausescu coincided with a coup which had been planned for some time. Who was conspiring against the dictator?
[Roman] The popular uprising was absolutely spontaneous. It was caused by the irresponsibility and madness of the dictator, who not only killed the people in Timisoara but also insulted the dead. The people in this country were sick of the Ceausescus. Everybody was conspiring against the dictator. Everybody wanted him to go. What happened in December was that the people turned their indignation into an overt confrontation with the political power, and that occurred spontaneously.

Nobody planned the revolution. I will give you an example. In my university faculty, the students decided to go onto the streets and demonstrate. They came to me, and asked me to join them, as they did with other lecturers. I realized that they had every justification and that I would die of shame if I did not go with them. I joined them, and together we attacked the party central committee headquarters—the symbol of despotism. Many young people died in that battle. It was necessary, but very sad.

[Interviewer] Do you wish to maintain a special relationship with the USSR?
[Roman] We wish to maintain relations with everybody. The Soviet Union is one of our neighbors, and we aim to be on good terms with them. Ceausescu contrived to offend everybody at the same time—both the Soviet Union and the West. We wish to restore Romania's good name in the international community.

[Interviewer] Is there any possibility of the Armed Forces' playing a leading role in the transition process?
[Roman] If you are asking whether there could be a coup, I must say that that is impossible. The Armed Forces have taken over the administration of Timisoara because there are no civilian authorities. As soon as there are elections, the officers will return to the barracks.

With respect to splits in the National Salvation Front, it is true that there are differences of opinion. That does not mean splits. One of Ceausescu's legacies is the false idea that all Romanians must agree on everything. That is ridiculous. Of course, every minister has his opinion, and he sets it out at meetings. Unanimity ended with Ceausescu.

Interior Ministry Official Defines Police Role

AU3101141690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1239 GMT 21 Jan 90

["What Is the Romanian Police"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, 31/1/1990—Colonel-General Jean Moldoveanu, first deputy minister of the interior, chief of the Police General Inspectorate, defines as follows in daily ADEVARUL the institution he leads:

"The Police is a military institution that exercises its attributions in compliance with the principle of impartiality, unyielding to any influence of parties, political, to or other grouping".

Speaking of the current issues of the inspectorate, Moldoveanu declares:

"At present, we are preoccupied with the infusion of fresh cadres, including the appointment to office of representatives of national minorities in zones and localities where such minorities live and work, as well as the attractiion to the ranks of police of valuable young people, even if they have not been trained yet in schools for officers or NCOs. We are in full process of reorganization, of establishing structures and competences, forms and methods of action that should be as supple as possible yet firm enough, to avert and combat any antisocial acts, to ensure a climate of order and safety.

Ministry Announces Conditions for Military

AU3001135190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1136 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 30/1/1990—The Ministry of National Defence announces that food standards for the military in force before 1986 are back. 60 million lei were earmarked to increase the calorie content, which will provide for a qualitative and quantitative improvement of nutrition. In view is also a rise in the daily calorie consumption per soldier to 4,000. Furthermore, starting December 25,1989, all the permanent military staff and the civilian personnel take the meals in their units free of charge.

A number of provisions were annulled which arbitrarily set the useful life of uniforms and other military clothing.

NSF Decree Law Abrogates Laws on Communes

AU2601192490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1432 GMT 26 Jan 90

["Abrogation of Measures To Dismantle Some Communes"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 26/1/1990—The abusive measures to dismantle certain communes taken by the former dictatorpal regime have been abrogated under a decree-law of the National Salvation Front Council.

The normative act that meets half-way the justified requests of the citizens, re-establishes the communes the existence of which was desisted in 1989, and the villages deleted from records regain their legitimate right to existence. Stipulated is also the maintenance of the 23 towns set up under the 1989 law of territorial systematization abrogated by the new decree-law of the NSF Council.

Councils of the National Salvation Front and of Mayor's Offices are to be made up in the re-established localities, that will ensure the organization and unfolding of the whole socioeconomic activity.

Decree-Laws on Restructuring Agriculture

AU3101202390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1851 GMT 31 Jan 90

["New Rules in Agriculture"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 31/1/1990—Two decrees-laws were released in Bucharest marking the start of the application of the National Salvation Front's platform-programme for the restructuring of agriculture and the aid granted to small farmsteads.

According to the first decree, the general meeting of cooperative farms in hilly and mountainous areas are in a position to decide on the arable areas, pastures, vineyards and orchards that may be given to farmers in the respective localities for their long-term use provided that they should not resort to additional work force. The respective terrains will be assigned to farmers only after the areas needed for the production of fodder for the animals still on the farm have been set. The decree offers the farmers the possibility to cooperate with cooperative farms in tending the livestock and delivering products to the state's specialized units, and to make their free associations to use the construction, stables and the other facilities of cooperative farms.

In the case of the other zones of the country, the general meetings of cooperative farms, too, may assign arable terrains extending on up to 5,000 square meters to any cooperative member, to those willing to return to the countryside, as well as to mechanical operators provided that they perform their current activities as well. Up to 2,500 square meters of arable terrain per family may also be assigned to other citizens who are not cooperative members provided that they should cultivate the land and pay an annual tax to cooperative farms.

The decree shows that state farming units, too, may assign arable terrains extending on up to 5,000 square meters to their permanent workers provided that they should continue their activity at their work places. All individuals who are given terrains lose the right to possess once they fail to use them.

The terrains covered by the houses of the farmers, their gardens and front yards in cooperativized areas become their private property which can be sold and inherited. This terrain, together with the plot received for use will not extend on more than 6,000 square meters.

According to the law, farmers are free to sell all their products both in the marketplace and under contracts and the state will support them by seeing to the mechanization of farming operations and the supply of seeds, fertilizers, fodder and others.

The second decree refers to measures to provide incentives to the farmers and the economic activity of cooperative and state farming units. It shows that farming units will cover their expenses from the incomes they make from the sales of their products under contracts, in the marketplace or through a network of stores and the performance of services.

Starting 1990 the state will finance investment and spending of a national interest in agriculture (land improvement, environmental protection, etc.).

The decree sets modalities to pay the management and administration staff in both state and cooperative agriculture. It also shows that the personnel working on holidays and on their weekly off-days will get 50 percent more for those days.

The decree stipulates the dissolution of the joint agroindustrial councils and the cancellation of the debts deriving from the production credits granted to cooperative units in 1989 and in the previous years—which amount to 57 billion lei—the sums of money needed to pay the deductions effected last year worth five billion lei as well as the investment credits, due until December 31, 1989, and the interest charges on them amounting to 550 million lei. All these sums of money will be covered from the budget surpluses of previous years.

It is considered that the grave phenomena in agriculture cannot be wiped out all of a sudden but by gradual steps, which is why the country's future parliament will take other measures with deeper implications for the development of agriculture.

ADEVARUL on Restructuring of Economy

AU0102114290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0949 GMT 1 Feb 90

["Economy—Whereto? Radical Changes but not Immediately"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 1/2/1990—The radical changes the Romanian economy wants must be preceded by the projection of new systems and mechanisms both at a macroeconomic level and at a microeconomic one, Ovidiu Nicolescu, doctor of economics, writes in an article in daily ADEVARUL.

"Such systems and mechanisms must be introduced gradually in all branches of the economy—industry, agriculture, building, transport, commerce, banks and finance, telecommunications, insurance, etc., but in a long time. Their immediate application, sustained by economic quarters from abroad, would not offer the most advantageous conditions of efficiency.

The passage to the restructuring of the economy and of the enterprises is a very complex and difficult process, the author states, among other things also

Steps Agreed To Restore Greek Catholic Church

AU2901125790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1139 GMT 29 Jan 90

["On the Possible Restoration of the Greek Catholic (Uniate) Church in Romania"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 29/1/1990—A meeting at Romania's Ministry of Religious Affairs attended by Gelu Voican-Voiculescu, deputy prime minister, Nicolae Stoicescu, minister of religious affairs, Antonie Plamadeala, metropolitan of Transylvania, Nicolae Corneanu, metropolitan of the Banat and Alexandru Todea, the (unrecognised yet) metropolitan of the Greek-Catholic Church discussed the restoration of the Greek Catholic (Uniate) Church dissolved in 1948. It was agreed that the Greek Catholic Church should file an application to become a juristic person and that until this is done the priests and the faithful should opt for one of the two churches: Orthodox or Greek Catholic (Uniate). Eventually when the approximate number of Orthodox and Greek Catholic believers is known, the places of worship and parish houses will proportionally be distributed by a mixed commission in the presence of local authorities.

The agreement was struck by representatives of the two churches.

Chairman of Labor Safety Commission Appointed

AU3101220190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2015 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 31/1/1990—Under a decree signed by Ion Iliescu, president of the National Salvation Front Council, Dan Andreescu was appointed chairman of the National Labour Safety Commission having the rank of minister secretary of state.

Decree Appoints Deputy Minister, Bank Official

AU0102115490 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2000 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] On the basis of decisions signed by Mr Petre Roman, prime minister of the Government of Romania, Radu Andarache has been appointed deputy minister of wood industry, and Nicolae Preturia has been appointed deputy president of the National Bank.

Government Stipulates New Education Regulations

AU2901205390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1241 GMT 29 Jan 90

["New Regulations on Instruction"—ROMPRES]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 29/1/1990—A decision of the Romanian Government stipulates that as of the second quarter of this school-year the norm of the teaching staff in the secondary, high and foremen's schools be of 18 hours a week and that for master teachers 24 hours.

To stabilize the instruction in villages, the teaching staff with residence in towns and jobs in rural settlements will have a norm of 16 hours a week, also benefitting from a 10 per cent pay rise. For the teaching staff teaching more than one grade at a time, the pay rise will be of 20 per cent.

The system of assignment to teaching jobs will be announced by April 10.

Ministry Endorses Autonomy of Higher Education

AU3001164390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1404 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 30/1/1990—The Ministry of Instruction endorsed measures to ensure the autonomy of higher learning, says Professor Paul Cornea, deputy instruction minister, in an interview for the BBC radio station.

It was decided, he pointed out, that elections would be held in all higher learning institutions to elect heads of departments, the senate members and the rectors, until 10 February. The collective management bodies will include students in proportion of at least 30 percent. The management bodies are to draw the instruction plans and sillabi, hire and promote didactic staff, develop direct relations professional, scientific, cooperative, contracts with foreign countries. The government has already earmarked funds to put all this into practice.

Ministry Announces Teaching in Ethnic Languages

AU0102114590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0941 GMT 1 Febb 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 1/2/1990—The Ministry of Education surveyed the situation created in some counties as a result of changes in the national minorities' high-school tuition in mother-tongue. Three classes of questions were singled out: questions settled by agreement with the parties concerned (including pupils, parents, teaching staff); questions under negotiation for suitable solutions; unsettled problems that can be settled by the beginning of the new school year (1990-1991).

Here are a few figures of 126 high schools or sections in the 15 counties where tuition is made in the mother tongue of the national minorities in 103 high schools tuition is made also in Magyar, in 21 in German too, in one also in Slovak and in one also in Ukrainian. [sentence as received]

Of the 103 high schools where tuition is also in Magyar, the questions of network and schooling were settled by joint agreement, in 62 (meaning 60 percent), solutions are sought in 5 and in 36 (meaning 35 percent) the proposals regarding the school network will be applied next autumn.

Of the 21 high schools where tuition is made also in German, in 16 (76 percent) the problems posed were settled by joint agreement and in five high schools the solutions will be applied in autumn.

New Education Minister on Hungarian Language

AU2301143390 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 17 Jan 90 p 3

[Interview with Public Education Minister Mihai Sora, by Pal Bodor; date and place not given: "The New Romanian Education Minister on Restoring Hungarian-Language Education"]

[Excerpts) Mihai Sora is 73 years old. He is the son of a priest from Temesvar [Timisoara] who graduated from the Sorbonne and participated in the French Resistance. He is a writer and philosopher equally honored and respected for his works and his moral courage. He is one of the signatories of the open letter courageously criticizing the old regime, a letter written by a group of writers, including Mircea Dinescu, the new chairman of the Writers' Association, for which they were harassed. In the past decades, he has been repeatedly dispossessed, shelved, and deprived of the right to publish. In the sixties, we worked together at the Literary Publishing House in Bucharest: He was chief editor responsible for classic Romanian literature, and I was the heir of Geza Domokos, and in charge of national minority literature.

We discussed openly the horrors of our past fate, in the dark corners of the publishing house, in the kitchen of his apartment, and mainly during long walks. He deeply understood our tragedy of national minority within the tragedy of national deterioration.

He is now Romania's new public education minister.

[Bodor] Dear Mihai Sora, I will get to the point: Is there a chance for the full restoration of education in the mother tongue of the Hungarians in Romania?

[Sora] Of course! The answer is a clear and firm, yes.

[Bodor] Can we already speak about the planned guidelines of restoration?

[Sora] Even before learning the complexity of this issue, it was clear to me that higher education in their mother tongue is an essential condition for the spiritual and intellectual life and creative existence of the Hungarians in Romania. The truth is that the various needs and solutions have not yet been formulated in every branch and area; as the Hungarian elementary and secondary school education exists, and must exist, so must we also guarantee teachers' training and a new generation of educators in the Hungarian language: Primarily for the instruction of the Hungarian language and literature and in many other areas, mainly classical subjects. [passage omitted]

[Bodor] Unfortunately, Hungarian children drifted to Romanian sections not only under the pressure of the authorities and not only because it was rather difficult to get into the Hungarian section of the mixed secondary schools, and it was quite easy to get into the Romanian section. Hungarian parents were also taken in by the superstition that their children would have greater opportunities in the Romanian sections.

Only a child who has full knowledge of his mother tongue can thoroughly learn a second, third, or fourth language. Those who do not speak their mother tongue properly will never learn Romanian thoroughly either; they will be unstable and overly sensitive people....

[Sora] You are absolutely right, and I agree with this. Moreover, I am convinced that all this has to be "solved" on the overall society level. I grew up in an open society to a certain extent, in Temesvar, a society characterized by the use of three and four languages and a fraternity between nationalities. I never experienced even the shadow of suspicion or hatred. [passage omitted]

[Bodor] Do you not think that all that happened in Temesvar, this fantastic cooperation that started from Laszlo Tokes and the 200 believers who were defending him and who were joined by thousands of Romanians, was a real miracle?

[Sora] Yes, but this miracle came from a mutual openness! In a community speaking three languages! This would have been impossible in conditions of confrontation and hatred! Only this way could the power of refusal become general. At the beginning, refusal emerged in a single point, and it grew and became a total refusal from this point. In only 3 days! All the slogans were formulated most precisely in 3 days! And the whole country took these slogans over. One could not predict all this, and that is the reason I am optimistic.

I am sure that Romania and Hungary are European countries. The state, the national state, is only a means, a means of the society. If this society is open, the state will also become flexible. I am convinced that Europe is both unique and varied, uniform and different, and European integration is not an integration in uniformity but the creation of a flexible European system that preserves individualities. Creativity can only develop through these indivdualities.

[Bodor] In other words, in your view, the efforts of the national minorities to achieve cultural autonomy are natural and healthy efforts.

[Sora] In my view, there is no other way, only the assertion of the deep identity of various communities. All this under conditions of the majority's encouraging tolerance, rather than their passive tolerance! By this I mean a tolerance that clearly encourages the other people to accept their being different, and being different, people with whom a dialogue can be held. This dialogue should not be an identification with the majority and giving up this individuality; nor should this dialogue mean any rule or domination. This dialogue should mean equality in dignity! [passage omitted]

[Bodor] Do you have confidence in your ability to reorganize this ministry and the public education in Romania?

[Sora] Yes, I am sure. Our goal is to create the autonomy of institutions of higher education. We would like to also guarantee a more flexible development of the elementary and secondary education, with fewer limitations and regulations; we also want to liberalize the publication of textbooks to a certain extent. [passage omitted]

Statements in Ceausescu Aides' Trial Reported

AU3101140390

[Editorial Report] Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian at 1630 GMT and at 2100 GMT on 30 January carries 22-minute and 19-minute reports respectively on the trial of four Nicolae Ceausescu associates.

The first states that "proceedings in the trial of the first group of Nicolae Ceausescu's aides, Tudor Postelnicu, Emil Bobu, Ion Dinca, and Manea Manescu, accused of complicity in the crime of genocide, continued today in Bucharest. During today's meeting the seven witnesses for the prosecution were also heard." Recorded portions of the first four witnesses' statements are presented.

The president of the tribunal opens the proceedings saying: "Witnesses Dorel Amariucai, Mircea Bot, Mircea Vitiuc, Marcel Matiescu, Pavel Aron, and Corneliu Parcaladescu will be heard today."

The first witness, Dorel Amariucai, former active officer in the Ministry of National Defense, is asked what he knows about the activity of some of the defendents during the days of 21-22 December. The witness answers: "In my position as a unit commander, I received orders to occupy a position on Magheru Boulevard, close to Dales Hall. The respective position included soldiers." He says: "There I saw all four defendants. I reported to the minister of national defense that we had occupied the position." Amariucai says he was reporting to the minister that there were a large number of people there, when, he says, Ion Dinca interrupted him, saying: "Come on, fellow. Do not panic. It is not true. There are only a couple of them. You go there, attack them, hit them, finish them, and bring them back." He recalls a second meeting with Dinca in the neighborhood of the Intercontinental Hotel, where colonels of the Ministry of Interior, in civilian clothes, decided that they had to shoot people. "The minister of national defense ordered that the people not be fired on, to which Dinca said: What do you mean not shoot? Don't you see that the mob is coming toward us?" About Postelnicu, Amariucai recalls that he saw Postelnicu, together with others, hitting a civilian and a woman of about 20.

The second witness is Mircea Bot, a police officer, who says that he was in charge of guarding the area around the palace. Asked about the defendants he says: "I saw Postelnicu behind Bucharest Hotel where some demonstrators against the rally [of 21 December] gathered. He gave orders to a group of soldiers to take up attack positions. He kicked a man and said to some people in civilian clothes who were transporting some demonstrators: If they move they should be eliminated." Later, he adds, he received Postelnicu's orders that demonstrators should be transported to Jilava prison.

The third witness is Mircea Vitiuc, an economic police officer. He says that on 21 December he had to accompany workers to the rally that day. He adds that he was in the area of the Athene Palace Hotel and saw soldiers in civilian dress approaching, and Postelnicu, who said: "Soldiers, move forward with weapons ready."

The fourth witness, Ion Sava, a police officer, describes his meeting with Postelnicu, whom he saw ordering soldiers to start firing. He saw Postelnicu hitting a man who "fell on the pavement and was kicked by Postelnicu."

In the 2100 GMT report on the trial the radio broadcasts recorded portions of the testimony of the remaining three witnesses.

Marcel Matiescu, an active militia officer relates events on 21 December, when, he says, he saw Postelnicu "in Victory Road, in front of Bucharest Hotel, where he caught and was hitting a woman, then he threw her in a truck." Then he says: "I heard him giving orders to soldiers to take up attack positions."

The sixth witness is Pavel Aron, an engineer, and former minister of transportation and telecommunication. He describes orders he was given to ensure the transportation of 22,000 patriotic guards from Dolj, Olt, and Rimnicu Vilcea. The prosecutor asks him about orders he received in connection with the events in Timisoara. Aron says that he was told that the patriotic guards arrived in Timisoara the following day, and that he does not know anything else.

The last witness is Corneliu Parcaladescu, who says that, in his capacity as patriotic guards' chief of staff he was called to Ceausescu's office on the evening of 20 December. He continues: "I arrived there a couple of minutes before Dinca. Ceausescu's wife was also there." He says he received orders to send 22,000 people to Timisoara "to establish order in Timisoara County." According to Parcaladescu, Ceausescu said that patriotic guards should be armed with clubs. Parcaladescu says he told Ceausescu that he could not give such an order to county authorities, but Elena Ceausescu protested "and, as a matter of fact, I was saved by Ceausescu himself who said that Ion Dinca will be responsible for this activity." About Postelnicu he says: "I witnessed him giving orders that tear gas should be thrown in front of the Intercontinental Hotel."

The radio report concludes with the announcer saying that "the trial will resume on 1 February 1990."

Timisoara Securitate Officers To Be Tried

AU3101220290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2003 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 31/1/1990—The Romanian Free Television broadcast Wednesday in its evening news programme a group of officers of the former securitate and militia bodies who are involved in the disappearance, hiding or transport to Bucharest of the corpses of some of the Timisoara victims. The group includes Maj.-Gen. Emil Macri, head of the Securitate Economic Department; Col. Traian Sima, chief inspector of Timis county; Col. Nicolae Ghircoias, head of the Criminology Institute under the general Militia Inspectorate; Col. Ioan Deheleanu, chief of the Timis County Militia; Lieut.-Col. Gheorghe Atuporoaie, deputy chief inspector of Timis County Securitate; Lieut.-Col. Ioan Corpodeanu, deputy chief of Timis County Militia; Maj. Iosif Vezerca, officer in the judiciary body; Maj. Tinu Radu, deputy chief of Timis County Securitate; and Cpt. Viorel Bucur, officer in the economic service of the former County Militia.

All of them are to be brought to court next week.

Hungarian-Language Radio Stations To Reopen

LD3001214290 Budapest MTI in English 2102 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, January 30 (MTI)—Hungarian radio stations will again be able to lawfully operate in Transylvania from February 1, after being silent for five years, MTI learned on Tuesday. (The report came from Sandor Gaspar, one of the leading staff members of the Tirgu Mures local station.)

The Hungarian-language stations have received the necessary budgetary and staff quotas from the central budget.

Hungarian Ethnic Youth Group's Goals Cited

AU2601192690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1431 GMT 26 Jan 90

["What Does MADISZ Mean?"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 26/1/1990—It [MADISZ] means the Union of Magyar Democratic Youth, an independent organization without a political character, which was created in Cluj and which gathers all segments of youth of that nationality. One of the goals of the MADISZ is the realization of the rights of the young Magyar nationality in Romania and the achievement of equality of rights of all nationalities. The organization cooperates with the Magyar Democratic Front of Romania and has specific organizational structures in enterprises, schools, faculties and villages. The basic goal of the MADISZ is to turn into an information centre for Magyar young people in Transylvania. Note: ed having translated locally see Margaret deCourcey

Timisoara To 'Abide by Democratic Rules'

AU3101153190 Paris AFP in English 1354 GMT 31 Jan 90

[By Rene Biagi]

[Excerpts] Timisoara, Romania, Jan 31 (AFP)—The cradle of Romania's revolution, Timisoara, has taught the nation another lesson in democracy by holding the first free local and regional elections in over 40 years.

Two days after the poll, the regional head of the National Salvation Front [NSF], Alexander Roskoban, 60, implicitly disavowed the country's new leadership by stressing that the Timisoara local council and the Timis regional body would abide by democratic rules. Specifically, he said in an interview with AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE, the regional council would respect its mandate of preparing for the general election in May. It would not set itself up as a party to contest the poll. The statement was a sideswipe at the NSF, which has been slow in agreeing to share power with other parties.

The NSF took over after the downfall of dictator Nicolae Ceausescu on December 22 and has been denounced by the three main opposition parties, the Peasants Party, the Social Democratic Party and the Liberals, for sticking to a monopoly of power. [passage omitted]

Mr. Roskoban, a lawyer who spent a total of six years in jail under the Ceausescu regime, said the 51-member Timis regional council would stay in charge up to the general election. "I will not stand in these elections," he said, adding that council members were free to run as individual candidates. But "there is no way that the Timis council will become a party ahead of the May 20 poll."

In demonstrations around the country last week the Peasants Party, the Social Democrats and the Liberals have been pressing for a share in power. The three parties existed before the communist takeover 45 years ago. The protests were quickly followed by counter-demonstrations backing the NSF leadership but a counter-demonstration held in Timisoara was calm and not marked by violence unlike a similar rally in Bucharest. Mr. Roskoban estimated that the NSF was practically assured of a majority in the May poll while the fate of the three re-legalized parties was less sure as their activities and their upcoming campaign were being hampered by loose structures and poor logistics.

However, a member of the Timis council, who would not be identified, argued that the three parties should join the NSF. "Their demands are justified and in line with the National Salvation Front's commitment to political pluralism," the councillor said.

Tokes Expresses Thanks for Support From Abroad

AU3101202490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1859 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 31/1/1990—In an interview with an editor of the news agency ROMPRES, Pastor Laszlo Tokes pointed to the support he enjoyed from personalities abroad when he was persecuted, before the revolution.

"Following my attitude against the regime in the last months of 1989, Ceausescu's dictatorship, through its odious repressive bodies, used all the means to put me to silence," he said. "In those conditions, when my situation grew ever worse, I thought of asking support from personalities known throughout the world. At the beginning of December 1989 I sent a letter to Lech Walesa, who made an appeal to all the people of good faith and, especially, to the winners of the Nobel Prize for peace to take joint action in my defence and exercise international pressure on Romania's leadership.

"After the people's revolution, Lech Walesa sent me a letter whereby he expressed his solidarity and deep respect for my attitude and activity in a country in which the worldwide recognized values had been abusively and brutally suppressed by the dictatorship. I thank this way Mr Lech Walesa and the Polish embassy for their support and their permission to make all these details public."

New Women's League Eschews All Discrimination

AU3101110390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1005 GMT 31 Jan 90

["Setting Up of National Women's League of Romania"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 31/1/1990—The National Women's League of Romania was set up in Bucharest, on January 30.

Defining itself as a free mass organization with no political colour or allegience, the league is open to all categories of women, with no discrimination as to nationality, race, religion, age or social category. It means to work for the defence and promotion of the legitimate rights of women as humans and free Romania's citizens.

The participants in the meeting, representing most of the country's counties, elected the provisional committee of the National Women's League of Romania. Mrs Smaranda Ionescu was elected chairwoman.

Weekly Magazine Publishes Students' Demands

AU2601171090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2210 GMT 25 Jan 90

["What Students Want"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 25/1/1990—The independent STUDENTIMEA DEMOCRATA weekly of 24 January continues to inform its readers about what the students' claims are.

They want to have lawful representatives to the National Salvation Front's Council nominated by them (Ploesti), to participate in the making of the new law of instruction (Cluj), to have the teachers' "dictatorship" replaced by the students' responsible cooperation (Bucharest).

Students also demand the dismissal of compromised and/or incompetent professors (Craiova), the modernization of subject matters, new subjects such as information science, the use of computers, one compulsory foreign language post-graduate speciality courses (the Mining Institute, Petrosani), a fair exercise of democracy and freedom (Bucharest's Academy of Fine Arts), an improvement of students' living conditions (Bucharest's Academy of Economic Studies).

The proposal was made that a Nationwide Federation of Free Students be set up.

* Student Free Trade Union Meeting Reported

90EB0196A Bucharest TINERETUL LIBER in Romanian 9 Jan 90 p 3

[Report by Mircea Florin Sandru]

[Text] On Sunday 7 January at 1000 at the Bucharest Polytechnical Institute [BPI], the winter image of the great university campus of Grozavesti is not what it used to be during vacation time. On all access roads—from the directions of Semanatoarea, the Politechnica metro stop, and Apaca—groups of students pour in toward the central building with its familiar dome to attend a meeting organized by the Students Free Trade Union [SFTU] of the institute. Our papers are checked at the door and we are searched. People enter in orderly fashion and gradually the vast hall fills up.

The first to come were, of course, the institute students, but also present are students from the Medical School, University, Construction and Agricultural Faculties, and Theater School. The spiral staircase, the upper corridors, and even adjacent halls and amphitheaters are all crowded. Thousands upon thousands of students (and young faculty staff) have come to attend this free meeting, from the dais of which they will voice their requests and views in the name of the freedom and democracy they won through struggle and blood sacrifices. But before I forget: Students from the hero-city Timisoara have also responded to the FSTU appeal; I also met students from Iasi, Constanta, and Brasov, which sent representatives to support the demands of the

BPI students, their program, and their determination not to cede to attempts to infringe on their rights and democratic gains.

The tremendous sight offered by this great free meeting of students prompted me, of course, to attempt a "colorful" reportage. But I won't do that, because, above and beyond the cinematographic beauty of the event lies the significance and meaning of this particularly important event for consolidating the recently established student organizations and publicly asserting their programs of actions.

Although its objectives were not political, just as the student organizations are not political, the meeting reconfirmed the fact that the students are and must be an active element of our democratic life, and that they are determined to assume a major role in all university activities.

It is difficult to summarize in a few notes everything that was said from the dais. The speakers were students from the BPI (who organized the event and hammered out the program that was sent to Prime Minister Petre Roman), the University of Bucharest, the Medical-Pharmaceutical Institute, the Academy of Economic Studies, and the Veterinary School, as well as one representative of the Provisional Initiative Front of the Timisoara students. Solidarity with the demands of the institute students and the initiatives of Romanian students was expressed by colleagues from Czechoslovakia, Poland, and France and young people who accompanied aid shipments recently sent to Romania. The opener was Bogdan Dumitran, a third-year student of the institute's School of Mechanics, who read out the program that the FSTU wants to have immediately implemented. One of the principal demands is that this winter's exam session remain open, and that its date and duration be decided by each faculty with the agreement of the students. A program of the League of Romanian Students established at Bucharest University (and joined by students of the Institute of Physical Education and Sports, the Agricultural Institute, the Commercial Navy Institute, and the Constanta Institute of Subengineers) was presented by Marian Munteanu, who did not fail to mention that the measures proposed by the League will be fleshed out when all the students return to their schools.

Videocameras of the Free Romanian Television and many foreign television stations filmed the highlights of the student meeting (which have already been distributed). Pertinent viewpoints were expressed, specific measures were suggested, questions were asked, and points were asserted or rejected; there were applause and boos, expressions of pathos and intelligence, logic and emotions, faith in and respect for the values of freedom and democracy, and profound confidence in the idea that they, the students (and no one else) must decide how to organize, live, study, and struggle.

One idea I noted in the address of Daniel Lungu, a second-year student of the Metallurgical Faculty: The many organizations established or in the process of being established must not become points of departure for splitting the student movement. "In unity lies our strength," he said, stressing the need to converge on the essential objectives, within the idea of freedom, democracy, and rebirth in Romanian higher education.

[Box, p 3]

Approximate Transcript of the Meeting

The Students Have Had Enough Orders 'From Above'

—On the list of demands presented to the prime minister, those dealing solely with the Polytechnical Institute were struck out, whereby the FSTU took into account the interests of all the students (Bogdan Dumitran).

—No one is entitled to make decisions in our name; the students have had enough "supervision" from above. With whom did Messrs Sora and Stanasila consult when they decided to begin the new session on 26 January? (Daniel Lungu).

—The Youth Commission of the National Salvation Front [NSF] was established in the first few days of the revolution and is made up of young people who may not be among the most competent among us. This commission does not now represent us, but the government among us. We must have our own legitimate representatives. We will wait for classes to resume and for all student organizations to be established before electing our representatives. (Dragos Paun)

—The students of Timisoara are with you and support your demands. If people won't listen to you, we are willing to have another 16 December in Timisoara. (Robert Constantin Ghidanae) —Compulsory job assignment was clearly a formal of "feudal enslavement" of students; we demand that positions be secured on a competitive basis. We want approximately 20 hours a week; Ceausescu [spelled with a small C] forced us to have 50 hours so that we wouldn't be able to think or to organize; he always feared us. (Marian Munteanu) —All fees paid by foreign students in hard currency must be used to equip laboratories and libraries. (Daniel Ioan) —We must request help to introduce and use computers in all the faculties. (Claudiu Constantinescu) —One of the worst legacies of the dictatorship is that many medical fields were neglected. There is a lot of knowledge to which we, medical students, did not have access because it was considered taboo. We need information. (Florin Dobrescu)

Competence, Not 'Files'

Vlad Enache, 5th-year hydropower major, School of Electrical Engineering and Power: The BPI students and their trade union organized this meeting to defend their interests and to show that measures concerning the reorganization of higher education must take their views into account. They, who were the first up on the barricades of the revolution, are now demonstrating that they can defend their rights and know how to deal with democracy and freedom.

Gheorghe Ghigea, Construction School, Iasi Polytechnical Institute: I am here to support the SFTU, most of whose demands we share. Our school in Iasi has not organized yet, mapped out a program, nor asserted its views. To us, this meeting is a genuine lesson in democracy, for which we want to thank the students of Bucharest.

Nicolae Marinescu, 1989 mechanical constructions graduate, engineer at the Enterprise for Electrical Panels and Boards, Alexandria: Today's meeting has realistically assessed the serious regression suffered by Romanian higher education under the dictatorship. Another truth that has come out is that all the measures that will be taken must take into account the wishes of the students, who indeed constitute a great force. There will be no more measures imposed from above; the students must be consulted and allowed to decide. We graduates also have many problems. During our internship in factories, we don't do much, have any say; our training and competence are not needed. As far as I am concerned, instead of "governmental assignment" I prefer to compete for a position, because that is the only way to have a genuinely quality selection.

Maria Caraman, 1st year, School of Transportation: This is the first free meeting I have ever attended. These are our demands, and they must be taken into consideration. There are a few others I would like to add. We do not have sufficient textbooks; there is a shortage of student notebooks and writing paper; some of our professors were appointed for political reasons, although they are professionally incompetent, teach by "crib," and get mixed up on basic topics. We demand to be relieved of "agricultural practice" and instead be allowed to study and to think.

Iulian Pricop, 4th year, technological equipment major, School of Mechanics: The SFTU proposed several measures that concern students of evening classes: extending breaks to 2 months and granting rest and recreation holidays within university breaks. There is something else I would like to add: We need more textbooks; upon graduation we want to be able to obtain positions on a competitive basis, according to our abilities; years of study should constitute a criterion for higher pay categories.

Demands of the FSTU of BPI

In view of the fact that the Education Ministry decision of 4 January 1990 concerning the schedule of winter session examinations contravenes students' interests, we request that it be repealed.

Similarly, we request that the following immediate measures be approved and remain valid until a new education law comes into effect:

1. University autonomy for the institutes of higher education;

2. A law stating that higher education be organized at least 2 months after the beginning of classes, so that all students can be consulted;

3. Leave this winter's exam period open; schedules and duration should be decided by each school on the basis of consensus between students and faculty;

4. All decisions concerning the educational process, activities in student complexes, and extracurricular activities should be adopted after consultation with student organizations;

5. Attendance of classes and seminars should no longer be compulsory. Laboratory attendance should remain compulsory and may be repeated. Compulsory analytical programs should be worked out for exams in correlation with the restructuring of the educational process;

6. Abolish student self-management in dormitories and canteens (while remaining autonomous of institutional management). Student accommodations should be organized and managed by students' trade unions of the respective institutes;

7. Extend study breaks for evening students to two months and grant rest and recreation holidays during university breaks, in keeping with enterprises' recommendation. Unlimited periods of study;

8. Abolish military training for female students;

9. Grant income scholarships according to average income per family member; 10. Grant merit scholarships solely according to professional work; lift restrictions from this type of scholarships; 11. Abolish government assignment and secure positions in the economy on the basis of competition; discussions.

Ecological Movement States Policy Positions

Opposes Public Rallies in Parks

AU2601193090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1447 GMT 26 Jan 90

["The Ecological Movement and What It Stands For"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 26/1/1990—The Ecological Movement in Romania is against the holding of public meetings in city parks a measure recently decreed by the Council of the National Salvation Front because no matter how civilized the meeting, it turns the park "into wasteland". This movement must enter the election race in order to make its views known rather than to take power, Mr.Sorin Racovitan, the movement's vice president, told a ROMPRES editor the other day. The motto of the party is "A clean man in a clean country in a clean world" and some of the platform's points reflect the view that man is the most important link in the global ecosystem.

The movement's over 44,000 members so far are divided in 60 local cells and carry on their activity in 24 technical commissions. The technical legal commission which is one of them analyses, evaluates and attempts ecological forecasts in agreement with the provisions of the extraterritorial international law. We can tell our neighbours that our ecological struggle will take into account also their interests and opinions, said Mr.Racovitan, because man lives everywhere on this planet.

Favors Dialogue

AU3001164190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1406 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 30/1/1990—The Ecological Movement of Romania will not take part in any actions meant to inflame people, in demonstrations and counterdemonstrations the steering committee of the Ecological Movement of Romania stated referring to the recent demonstrations held in the Romanian capital.

The movement—the release shows—considers that most harmful to a necessary spirit of national consensus are any actions of sowing discord, of playing one group of people against another, which many bring destabilization, anarchy, and economic chaos. As an independent movement, true to its principles and program, the Ecological Movement of Romania shows its concern over the outbreak of a wave of fratricidal passions and makes an appeal to calm, common sense and lucidity.

The Ecological Movement of Romania called all the political formations across the country to start talks and to reach national consensus by dialogue.

Hails U.S. Decision To Close Bases

AU3101214990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2016 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 31/1/1990—The Ecologist Movement of Romania has learned with great joy about the United States' decision to close and dismantle a number of military bases sited in various regions, some of them in Europe, next to Romania's territory, shows a letter the Executive Committee of the Movement sent to Alen Green jr., ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the USA to Bucharest. The U.S. Government's gesture is viewed as a remarkable contribution to attaining the lofty goals of peace, an aim the ecologist movement of Romania also intends to fulfil, the letter also shows.

Suceava Pollution Cause for Combine To Close

AU3101002390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1627 GMT 30 Jan 90

["The Suceava Syndrome"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 30/1/1990—As a result of the serious situation in the City of Suceava through the ever higher atmospheric concentration of carbon sulphide released by the pulp and paper and artificial fibre combine, a local commission for the environment and ecological balance called a meeting with the deputy minister of the chemical and petrochemical industry, Mr Valeriu Mocanu, and the management of the combine. It was agreed that the artificial fibre and auxiliary departments—the chief source of pollution—should be closed down for repair and inspection and that in the meantime, a team of the Braila Research Institute should work out several variants and solutions to reduce and capture the wastes. It was also decided that the relevant bodies contact foreign firms as soon as possible to seek out a basis for cooperation in this area.

First Ship Launched for 1990, Others To Follow

AU3101002590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1633 GMT 30 Jan 90

["This year's First Ship"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 30/1/1990—A 600 Cu.M. self-propelled sea-going barge ordered by the USSR is the first ship launched to the sea this year by workers of the Drobeta-Turnu Severin Shipyard. The vessel was fitted out in the yard in a proportion of 75 per cent, which explains its earlier-than-planned delivery to the owner.

Sea tests have ended for another similar ship, the first in a series of seven contracted with foreign partners. Another cargo ship for 2,500 dwt planned to be launched in February is at an advanced stage.

Coupons Required To Buy Gas for Automobiles

LD3001121190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] [Presenter] Yesterday, on the basis of hearsay, we reported that gas cannot be bought for ready cash in Romania, only in exchange for coupons. The news is true, as you will now hear from (Janos Rubek), a lietenant colonel in the border guard. He answered questions from Kata Nagy:

[(Rebek)] We now know for a fact that foreigners are obliged to buy gas coupons. Gas will only be sold in exchange for these coupons. The gas coupons can be purchased at the border stations on the other side, or in the hotels, travel agencies or various bureaus of exchange in the towns near the border, in exchange for officially exchanged lei, certified with an export permit. At the same time it has to be said that, contrary to the earlier period, there is no compulsory exchange. And perhaps one more piece of information: Cars that are delivering aid can buy gas over there for lei. What is more, in some cases they even make exceptions, for instance that they can fill up free of charge.

[Nagy] Can one get gas in a limited quantity or, if a person has coupons, in an unlimited quantity?

[(Rebek]) There is no upper limit.

U.S. Deputy Secretary for Human Right Visits

AU3101202090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1845 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 31/1/1990—Ambassador Richard Schifter, assistant secretary of state for human rights and humanitarian affairs, visited Bucharest on January 30 and 31, 1990 to assess progress toward instituting democratic processes in Romania. While in Bucharest, Ambassador Schifter met with officials of the provisional government, with representatives of the National Salvation Front, with opposition political party leaders and representatives of other political orientations, with trade unionists, religious leaders and ordinary citizens. He expressed the admiration of the American people, and of the American Government for the Romanian people's courage in overthrowing the Ceausescu regime. He also emphasized the need for the democratic processes made possible by the revolution to move ahead. Ambassador Schifter stopped over in Bucharest on his way to Moscow where he will attend the conferences of the ministerial meeting between State Secretary James Baker and Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze.

Deputy Chief of Staff Addresses CSCE Meeting

AU3101110690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0949 GMT 31 Jan 90

["Romanian Address at Vienna Seminar"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Vienna, ROMPRES, 31/1/1990—Speaking at the Vienna Seminar on Military Doctrines of the states participating in the CSCE process, Colonel General Nicolae Eftimescu, first deputy chief of the General Staff, referred to a number of important aspects of the Romanian Army's operational and battle training, with special reference to its defensive character. The Romanian Army training, the speaker said, is essentially founded on the idea of repelling any act of agression launched by a better equipped and numerically superior enemy. It cooperates closely with the local forces, with the people.

By its entire activity, the Romanian Army was shows to have no other aim than to defend national sovereignty and independence, and the territorial integrity of the country.

Minister Signs Application for EUTELSAT

AU3101202190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1842 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 31/1/1990—On January 31, engineer Stelian Pintelie, minister of post and telecommunications, signed Romania's application for its affiliation to EUTELSAT.

Mr D.G. Hartman, director of the administration and finance department of that organization, now in Bucharest for the signing ceremony, said that was a historic moment and welcomed Romania's willingness to improve its telecommunications services. He also expressed his belief that the EUTELSAT general meeting due in May would endorse Romania's application.

In his turn, the Romanian minister highlighted the importance of Romania's affiliation to the front-ranking EUTELSAT system. He said Romania boasted highly trained staff in the area of telecommunications and added that what it needed was modern equipment, such as automatic telephone terminals, optic fibres, and others, as well as technical assistance. Several companies have already been contacted, he said, and I think some of these projects will materialize as early as this year.

Tourism Minister Ends Visit to Soviet Union

AU3001102790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0924 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 30/1/1990—Romania's Minister of Tourism Mihai Lupoi ended his visit to the Soviet Union where he had talks with I.A. Konovalov, interim president of the State Committee for Tourism, and tourism executives of the General Council of the Soviet Trade Unions on the growth of bilateral cooperation in tourism in the period ahead.

A protocol was signed the provisions of which are to be detailed out by Romanian and Soviet experts in order to ensure the growth of tourist exchanges, identify new forms of cooperation and promote tourism in border areas.

Hungarian Minister Denies Territorial Claims

AU3001131790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1239 GMT 30 Jan 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 30/1/1990—"He who believes that anyone of the Hungarian political leaders could seriously think of the tiniest territorial claim vis-a-vis the neighbour countries is naive: We must say it firmly" stated Mr Ferenc Glatz, Hungarian minister of culture in an interview granted to the review "ROMANIA LITERARA."

"Likewise, to believe that Hungary can build fine relationships with any neighbour who does not take into account the autonomy, human, cultural, national rights of the Magyar minority is also naive. Their observance is the other hallmark of fine relations."

The Hungarian official granted the interview to journalist Zoltan Rostas during his visit to Bucharest, where he held talks with his Romanian counterpart Mr Andrei Plesu and the Romanian instruction minister, Mr Mihai Sora who is going to visit Budapest on 3 February.

Prospects Seen for Scientific Ties With Hungary

AU3101002090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1920 GMT 30 Jan 90

["New Prospects for the Resumption of Romanian-Hungarian Scientific Relations"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 30/1/1990—"It was with great pleasure and keen interest that I came to Bucharest at this historic moment so that scientific relations between the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and the Romanian Academy may resume," said Berend T. Ivan, president of the Hungarian Academy, in a news conference organized at the headquarters of the Hungarian Embassy in Bucharest.

"The historic changes wrought in Romania open new prospects to the relations between the two scientific forums," the guest said adding that his visit to Romania was an occasion to identify broad areas for cooperation. He also said there had been agreement on the preparation of a cooperation accord providing for scientific exchanges and joint research themes, as well as for measures to place Romanian science in the context of world science from which it was isolated by the old regime. It was also agreed that the activity of the commission of historians to clarify a number of issues in history would be renewed. During the news conference Mr Berend T. Ivan said the Hungarian Academy offered the Romanian Academy a large number of scientific and technical reviews and books. To Mr Radu Voinea, who attended the meeting with the press, the visit of the Hungarian Academy's president was an opportunity to renew the fine links between the two scientific forums. He said there had been areas where collaboration was fine, as there had been fields, such as social sciences, for instance, where that cooperation was reduced to null during the old regime.

Government Agrees to Hungarian Consulate Reopening

AU3101001590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1635 GMT 30 jan 90

["Hungarian Consulate Reopens in Cluj"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 30/1/1990—On January 30 Romania's Deputy Foreign Minister Mr. Constantin Oancea received Pal Szuts, ambassador of the Hungarian Republic in Bucharest. On the occasions, a response was given on behalf of the foreign minister of Romania, Sergiu Celac, to a letter sent by Mr. Gyula Horn, foreign minister of the Hungarian Republic, expressing the Romanian side's wish to further a constructive, friendly dialogue with a view to setting Romanian-Hungarian relations upon new bases.

Working in this spirit, the Romanian Government reasserted their agreement to the opening of the consulate of the Hungarian Republic in Cluj, as soon as possible, without insisting on the simultaneous opening of a Romanian Consulate in Debrecen. That was shown to be the sovereign, unilateral decision of the Romanian side, which takes account of the formal assurances given to it by the Hungarian ambassador in Bucharest to the effect that the activity of the consulate of the Hungarian Republic would be exclusively aimed at performing consulary services, in line with the provisions of the Vienna convention on consulary relations of 1963 and of the Romanian-Hungarian consulary convention of 1973.

Israeli Envoy Confident of Romania's Future

AU2601192790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1435 GMT 26 Jan 90

["Relations Between Romania and Israel"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 26/1/1990—In a statement to the Romanian foreign-policy weekly LUMEA AZI Israel's ambassador in Bucharest, Zvi Mazel, said relations between Romania and Israel were fine, which accounts for the confidence in their future. Romania, he said, has placed on its legitimate standing in Europe and in the world. Along the centuries the Romanian people has given world-famous musicians and writers. Now, when thinking is free in Romania, you will be able to make a far more substantial contribution to world culture. We in Israel wish to see bilateral relations develop. Thousands of Israeli tourists visit Romania every year. As many as 400,000 jews living in Israel come from Romania. They are linked to the Romanian people by the culture they acquired there, by relatives and friends on that land.

French Envoy Cites 'Inviolability' of Borders

AU2601192990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1318 GMT 26 Jan 90

["Declaration From the French Government"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 26/1/1990—M. Jean-Marie le Breton, ambassador of France in Bucharest, made a declaration for which he was authorized by the French Government, over the Romanian Free Television, in the evening of January 25. The ambassador said:

I am authorized to most categorically say that the French Government means in no way to question the frontiers extant in Europe. There must not be any misunderstanding on this point. The president of the French Republic and other authorities of the French state repeatedly expressed this.

I would like to add that France is a signatory to the Helsinki Final Act that stipulates the inviolability of the frontiers in Europe and means to comply with it. I think any other interpretation would account for not recognizing the general principles of the French policy that wishes the inviolability and integrity of the frontiers in Europe to be one of the facts of the present situation.

As I am here, in Romania, I would say that France is most particularly engrossed in the general attitude it had in the past vis-a-vis Romania. I would like to assure all our Romanian friends of the French policy in this domain. I would like this message to be most largely disseminated.

As a friend of Romania those who know me also know I am tied by strong and long friendship to the Romanian people. I was a little sorry and deplored the fact that the president of the French Republic, Mr. Francois Mitterrand, made that assertion. President Francois Mitterrand was among the first to show disapproval of the repression imposed on the Romanian people by the former dictatorship.

Roman, French Planning Official Discuss Economy

AU2601225890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2018 GMT 26 Jan 90

["Prime Minister Petre Roman Receives Lionel Stoleru"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 26/1/1990—Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman received, on 26 January, Lionel Stoleru, secretary of state in charge of planning at the French Prime Minister's Office. The interview was attended by the Romanian minister of the national economy, Victor Stanculescu, and the French ambassador in Bucharest, Jean-Marie le Breton.

The guest offered a few opinions he considers applicable to the transition from a strictly planned and highly centralized economy to a market economy. He also stressed his good impressions after the talks at the Ministry of the National Economy, the Ministry of Finance, the National Economic Research Institute and the National Bank of Romania, which gave him a broader view of the state of the Romanian economy, and concluded on the possibility that the planned and the market economy could co-exist and cooperate for some time.

Mr Petre Roman showed that Romania's present situation had to be taken into account. The Romanian Government's current concern is to balance the economy, he said. The experience of many countries must be studied, but the solutions must be Romania's, he showed, adding that the question of cooperation should be discussed with the political parties and a decision be made by the parliament that will be formed after the 20 May elections.

Sweden's Andersson Criticizes NSF After Visit

LD3101132290 Stockholm Domestic Service in Swedish 1030 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Excerpts] Now Foreign Minister Sten Andersson strongly attacks the National Salvation Front in Romania. He talks of deceit and that the Salvation Front has deluded the world opinion. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Two weeks ago Sten Andersson did a short, one-day visit to Romania, where he met representatives of the Salvation Front and the opposition parties. Then very little of totalitarian tendencies were evident. Now the foreign minister is of the opinion that the Salvation Front has deluded everyone and he, personally, feels disappointed, worried, and insulted.

[Andersson] The advocates of the Salvation Front gave assurances that they saw it as their task to bring the country from dictatorship to democracy; and this would take place through free elections. I met five political groups and became enormously impressed that in such a short time they had been able to partly organize themselves and formulate programs. In addition, I saw an enormous [words indistinct] political power there. They also talked about trust toward the Salvation Front and its ambitions and from those talks some suspicion and distrust came out that there could be another will in the Salvation Front.

But nothing had been clearly stated, so this is something that has happened now. And this is a fairly serious pestering of political [words indistinct]—the old peasant leader I met was pestered, party premises were vandalized. That of course is enormously serious at a time when another advocate has said that political parties are not necessary in Romania but there would be an established Salvation Front. [sentence indistinct] [passage omitted]

Brucan Receives Austrian Nationalrat President

AU3101110590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0950 GMT 31 Jan 90

["Romanian-Austrian Talks"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 31/1/1990—The chairman of the NSF Council's Foreign Affairs Commission, Mr Silviu Brucan, received on 30 January Mrs Martha Hubinek, joint president of the Austrian Nationalrat.

Mrs Martha Hubinek conveyed the wish of the Austrian parliamentarians to assist the new political system in Romania and the Romanian people.

Mr Silviu Brucan thanked the Austrian people and government for the prompt and substantial aid that friendly Austria had given in times of trial and outlined the economic and political problems that are before the National Salvation Front's Council.

Austria's ambassador in Bucharest, Mrs Berta Braun, attended the meeting.

Meeting With Iliescu

AU3101220390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1956 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 31/1/1990—Ion Iliescu, president of the National Salvation Front Council, received on 31 January Marga Hubinek, second president of Austrian Nationalrat (Parliament), who paid a visit to Romania. Dan Martian, NSFC [National Salvation Front Council] secretary, Foreign Minister Sergiu Celac and Berta Braun, Austria's ambassador to Bucharest, attended.

Both sides showed that the democratic transformations in Romania opened new prospects to the Romanian-Austrian collaboration both bilaterally and in the process of establishing constructive relations in Europe and the world over.

The same day Foreign Minister Sergiu Celac conducted talks with Marga Hubinek.

On 30 January Silviu Brucan, chairman of the Foreign Policy Commission of the National Salvation Front Council, had talks with Marga Hubinek attended by Deputy Foreign Minister Mircea Mitran and the Austrian ambassador to Bucharest.

TANJUG on Bush State of the Union Address

LD0102095590 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0448 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] Washington, Feb 1 (TANJUG)—U.S. President George Bush on Wednesday [31 January] evening proposed a new cut in U.S. and Soviet troops in Central and Eastern Europe to 195,000 troops in each side.

In his speech to Congress, a traditional state of the union address, Bush announced that after consulting with NATO allies and talks with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, he has gave up on the to date 275,000 troop level on each side.

Bush also urged speedier conclusion of the agreement on reductions in conventional, chemical and strategic arms.

However, the U.S. President said he intended to continue modernizing U.S. strategic offensive weapons, as well as the space defence program, better known as "star wars".

CGS Receives Soviet Deputy Naval Commanders

LD3101145790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1248 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] Belgrade, 31 Jan (TANJUG)—Colonel-General Blagoje Adzic, Chief of the General Staff [CGS] of the SFRY Armed Forces, today received Admiral Fedor Ivanovich Novoselov, USSR deputy naval commander, with aides.

In the course of cordial and friendly talks, it was jointly assessed that there are realistic opportunities and mutual interest for a further successfull development of inter-army, and in particular military and economic, cooperation.

As a guest of our armed forces, Admiral Novoselov and aides will visit Yugoslav National Army command units and institutions.

Loncar Discusses EC Membership With Dumas

LD3101173590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1428 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] Paris, 31 Jan (TANJUG)—France has promised its full support for our drawing closer to and cooperating more fully with the EC. In our delegation's assessment this is the impression gained during a fairly long and very useful conversation that Budimir Loncar, our federal secretary for foreign affairs, had today with French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas.

Federal Secretary Loncar is the guest of the French Institute of International Relations where tonight he will speak on the Yugoslav perception of the current integration processes in Europe.

In addition, the French foreign minister said that he will visit Belgrade soon and promised Loncar that during the first meeting of the foreign ministers of "the Twelve" he will urge greater consolidation of this integration with Yugoslavia. It is understood that on that occasion reference will be made to our memorandum forwarded to Brussels which explains the Yugoslav view of our further relations with the ultimate desire to become a fully fledged member of the EC.

During the meeting reference was made to the problem of the overindebtedness of the Third World countries for which France, in general, and President Mitterrand, in particular, display exceptional understanding. As reported, French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas endorsed the initiative to the effect that Third World countries' development problems of should be placed on the agenda of the United Nations General Assembly session within the framework of which a joint effort will be made to devise a wider solution for the many problems of the underdeveloped part of our planet.

Demonstrations Continue in Kosovo, Belgrade

Kosovo Classes Canceled

LD3101121990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0954 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Pristina, 31 Jan (TANJUG)—The Kosovo Executive Council has decided that the resumption of lessons in the primary and secondary schools [in the province] in the second semester be put off until 5 February. The lessons should start tomorrow but, the Provincial Secretariat for Education, Science, and Culture points out, as a result of the request made by several schools resulting from the fact that they are not quite ready to resume the lessons and because the situation in Kosovo has deteriorated dramatically, the date has been put for five days. [passage omitted]

Titova Mitrovica Demonstrations

LD3101142790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1354 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] Titova Mitrovica, 31 January (TANJUG)—At about 1330 today two groups of about 100 Albanian nationalists and separatists each began to hold demonstrations between the bus station in Titova Mitrovica and Sipolje. The demonstrators are mainly young men, but there are some young women among them, too. Strong security forces are preventing the demonstrators from entering the town. They are using tear gas to break them up into smaller groups, but they are attempting to regroup again. The demonstrators have chosen to get together in the area around the bus station and the Tavnik housing settlement where about 98 percent of the population are Albanians offering shelter to the demonstrators during the intervention by the security organs.

Podujevo Youths Demonstrate

AU3101153390 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] As on the previous day, separatists appeared in Podujevo at noon precisely. They gathered in front of the Communal Committee building and tried to enter. Militiamen dispersed the demonstrators, who withdrew to the outskirts of the town. The demonstrators were led by Albanian girls and Albanian boys.

Serbs and Montenegrins from Podujevo have asked for protection from the head of the Security Center. They have said that they have been subject to attacks.

Further on Protests, Demonstrations

AU3101153590 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Milivoje Mihajlovic report from Pristina]

[Text] Only an illusory peace prevailed in Kosovo this morning. There were hints of new unrest in many collectives where Albanian workers stopped work. Mainly verbal conflicts between Albanian workers and their Serbian and Montenegrin colleagues were reported in the Lipljan Stanoje Aksic factory and the Pec leather and shoe combine.

Tension and agitation have prevailed in almost all collectives. Albanians have refused to work in many enterprises in Urosevac, Podujevo, Lipljan, Pec, and Glogovac.

At noon precisely, as expected, Albanian separatists again went out onto the streets in Podujevo. There are about 3,000 of them, divided into several groups, and militiamen are trying to disperse them with tear gas, not allowing them access to the center of this town.

About 1,000 Albanian separatists set off 2 hours ago from the village of Streoce toward Lipljan. About 2,000 Albanians gathered in Malisevo, where there have been fierce clashes in the last few days between terrorists and militiamen. The people who have gathered include many women and children. They are again shouting hostile slogans.

From the surrounding villages, groups of demonstrators have set off toward Titova Mitrovica, but the security forces are trying to implement the order on the ban on gatherings for the sake of demonstrating. The militia is using tear gas but so far there has been no shooting in the area around Titova Mitrovica.

There are demonstrations in the village of Ade near Pristina.

There were also disturbances last night. There was shooting in Pec, Malisevo, and Lipljan. In the village of Stanovce, near Vucitrn, terrorists fired on members of the security service until late into the night. On this occasion five demonstrators were injured, who sought help this morning at the Vucitrn health center.

The Kursumlija-Pristina road was under the control of Albanian separatists last night. They stopped all vehicles and checked the identification of all travelers. Those who travelled along this part of the road, through Podujevo, report that they were stopped by young people who had red and black bands tied round their arms. They said that knowledge of a dozen words in Albanian saved their lives.

All trains traveling the Nis-Kosovo Polje line last night were stoned when exiting Pristina, and near Podujevo. One traveler was injured and virtually all the glass in the train cars was broken. Barricades were set up on the Pristina-Skopje road, at the border between Kosovo and Macedonia. A group of masked bandits showered stones on every vehicle that did not carry the registration number of Kosovo towns.

Night watches have been organized in almost all villages inhabited by Serbs and Montenegrins. Citizens in the villages near Lipljan have asked for help from the Yugoslav People's Army garrison.

Groups of terrorists have been appearing more and more often in the conflicts between the militia and demonstrators, along with well-trained snipers who shoot at the militia. This is best illustrated by the fact that many bullets have been found in the militiamen's flak jackets.

As a sign of protest at the situation in Kosovo, 4,000 Serbian and Montenegrin workers gathered this morning in Leposavic and demanded help from the Yugoslav state. Journalists of the Pristina RILINDJA—a paper published in Albanian—left the League of Communists en masse last night, also in protest at the situation in Kosovo.

Kosovo Demonstrations 'Fierce'

AU3101163190 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1430 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Report by Marjan Drobez from Pristina]

[Text] Demonstrations are again fierce today, with many people taking part in Podujevo and Lipljan, in the region of Prizren, and around Urosevac. The demonstrators are putting up barricades and interrupting road traffic. Therefore, road links with Serbia and Macedonia are either interrupted or hindered, and, at the same time, the general strike by ethnic Albanian workers continues in most plants and enterprises in Kosovo.

In Pec, food and other goods are beginning to run short because of the strike and the protest movement by private shopkeepers and sales clerks. There are very few Albanians in the province that would not close ranks with others of their nationality. Almost all the leading, managing, and other workers agree with the demonstrators or cooperate with them.

The ethnic Albanian militiamen are more and more passive when confronting the demonstrators.

In Pec, representatives of the Serbian and Montenegrin people, in keeping with statements made in Serbia proper, accused the political leaderships of Slovenia and Croatia of preparing genocide of the Serbs. In Titova Mitrovica, the communal League of Communists Committee, in a dramatic statement to the public, warned that the danger of civil war looms over Kosovo.

Our journalistic experiences and perception in Kosovo deny the assertions by official political circles and the Belgrade media that the demonstrators are armed and that they are in fact terrorists and diversionists. It is true that greater or lesser incidents are frequent, during which individuals—Albanians, Serbs, or members of other nationalities—often fire shots. What is more obvious in Kosovo is the brutal conduct by the police.

In Lipljan yesterday afternoon, for instance, a representative of the Slovene militia unit within the joint militia detachment almost calmed down a crowd of 2,000 to 3,000 demonstrators who intended to march on the communal building. They were unarmed and did not want to clash with the security forces. However, the Slovene representative had to discontinue playing his pacifying role because the militiamen from Serbia and Bosnia-Hercegovina suddenly began to use tear gas against the demonstrators, without being provoked in any way. Tear gas was then dropped on the Albanian crowd from police helicopters, too.

In connection with such examples, one statement is assuming special importance and dimension. The statement was made by Mirko Popovic, commander of the Slovene Militia Unit in Kosovo, to the special correspondents of Radio Ljubljana and Maribor VECER today. He stressed that the Slovene militiamen have been cooperating in maintaining public peace and order in the region of the Vranjevac estate in Pristina—according to authorities, the center of Albanian terrorism is located there—and in Lipljan, but the situation was not so critical anywhere, Mirko Popovic stated, that means of coercion would have to be used, such as rubber clubs, tear gas, or firearms.

Kosovo Roads Barricaded

LD3101163690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1536 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] Pristina, 31 Jan (TANJUG)—Almost all roads in Kosovo are threatened by Albanian extremists. On the roads near their towns they are setting up barricades built from various objects and materials, including tree trunks, which they are cutting down and dragging from nearby woods. The roads approaching Podujevo, Pec, Vucitrn, and Urosevac are impassable. Albanian extremists are stopping vehicles and travelers, asking for their identity papers, and are looking only for Serbs, Montenegrins, and Macedonians. Only those who are able to prove that they are Slovenes have safe passage.

3 Dead in Glogovac

LD3101181690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1757 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] Pristina, 31 Jan (TANJUG)—In today's unrest in Glogovac, in which more than 1,000 Albanian separatists took part, some of them with firearms, it is reported that three demonstrators died and about three were injured. The demonstrators were so aggressive that members of the militia had to use a helicopter to disperse them. The demonstrations, however, are still continuing.

In the past few days there was no major unrest here, which indicates that the strategy of the instigators of the latest measures is to spread them further.

Belgrade Rally Denounces Unrest

LD3101190790 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1703 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 31 (TANJUG)—Rallies are being held today in the Yugoslav republics of Serbia, Montenegro and Bosnia-Herzegovina in protest over the situation in the province of Kosovo, where ethnic Albanian separatists have been demonstrating, clashing with police and assaulting the region's minority Serb and Montenegrin populations for nine days.

The largest rally is under way in Titograd, capital of Montenegro, where about 100,000 people have expressed readiness to defend Kosovo and Yugoslavia and condemned the backing ethnic Albanian separatists are getting from some parts of the country, notably the republic of Slovenia. "We want arms," and "We are going to Kosovo," protesters chanted.

Several thousand people, Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo and Belgraders, assembled in the Yugoslav capital today. Among other things, they chanted "Serbia, prevent the genocide in Kosovo."

A proclamation for the rally signed by a group of Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins said that a demand would be sent to the Serbian government to allow the "forming of volunteer units to defend Serbian people, dwellings, land and shrines" in Kosovo.

At a protest rally in Ivangrad, Yugoslav republic of Montenegro, more than 10,000 people accused the leaderships of the republics of Slovenia and Croatia of supporting ethnic Albanian separatists in their intention to separate Kosovo from Serbia and Yugoslavia.

At a protest rally in Bileca, republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, some five thousand people are demanding that all legal actions be taken to protect the country's integrity and guarantee peaceful life together to all people in Kosovo.

The Yugoslav armed forces will never permit that the country be dismembered and its territorial integrity threatened, nor will they allow a civil war to break out, Lt.-Gen. Ilija Ceranic said today, addressing reserve officers of Croatia. Instead of arguing about who is to blame for the situation in Kosovo, everybody should invest efforts to resolve it, Gen. Ceranic added.

The open support from Slovenia and Croatia for ethnic Albanian separatists has laid the cards on the table and it is now clear whence the "enemy derives the strength for destructive action", Radmila Andjelkovic, president of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Serbia, the political organization with the largest membership, said today.

The leadership of the youth organization of Montenegro, which includes students amongst its members, today asked for tightening the emergency measures in Kosovo. All responsibility for the loss of human life in Kosovo rests with ethnic Albanian separatists and those who support them, thus violating the right of a sovereign state to protect its territorial integrity and constitutional order, it was set out.

The students of the university of Novi Sad, capital of the province of Vojvodina, issued a proclamation stressing that, if the Yugoslav State Presidency does not urgently adopt measures to resolve the situation in Kosovo, the students will demand its resignation and that its duties be taken over by the Federal Assembly as the highest organ of authority in the country.

Voices heard today from Slovenia were quite different. Secretary of the League of Communists of Slovenia Sonja Lokar claimed that the state apparatus in Kosovo was resorting to repression and demanded that talks be opened with the ethnic Albanian demonstrators who, she maintains, are demanding democracy.

Pec Roads Blocked

LD3101192290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1746 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] Pec, 31 Jan (TANJUG)—The demonstrations of Albanian separatists and terrorists in Pec are assuming increasingly greater proportions. It is not known anymore whether the situation is more difficult in the town or in nearby villages, where very organized groups of Albanian terrorists, using large stones and cutting trees near roads, are erecting barricades behind which they shoot at security forces' members.

In Radavac village, the Pec-Rozaj road was blocked; in Zahuc village, the Pec-Pristina road was blocked; and in Rausic village, the Pec-Decani road was blocked. The situation is serious in the villages of Lodj, Jablanica, and Novo Selo, where clashes between terrorists and militiamen started this morning.

The situation in the town is most serious near the train station and Kepsnica district, where a large number of Albanians live. As in the past few days, terrorists are destroying everything in front of them. They are throwing gasoline bombs at security forces. So far, the militia is using tear gas and rubber clubs and is firing live ammunition in the air as warning signs.

A majority of enterprises did not work today, including private shops owned by Albanians. Serbs and Montenegrins are extremely worried, especially because it is now impossible for them to leave Pec, since all exits are blocked.

This evening, a cloud of dust, caused by several fires lit by Albanian separatists, was hovering above the town.

Report on Dead, Injured

AU3101194790 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] TANJUG reports that in the course of today's demonstrations in Glogovac, in which several thousand Albanians took part, three people were killed and about 10 others were injured by firearms. The demonstrators were extremely aggressive, and the members of the militia were forced to use helicopters to disperse them. The demonstrations are continuing at this time.

'Life or Death Fight' in Kosovo

AU3101205190 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Passages within quotation marks are recorded]

[Text] Serbia will not give Kosovo away. It is a part of its territory, an unalienable part of our country and its history, and therefore, the Kosovo problem must be solved as soon as possible, the workers of the Zeleznik Ivo Lola Ribar factory say. Rados Smiljkovic, president of the City Committee of the League of Communists [LC] of Belgrade and member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia, was there today. Here is a report on this meeting by Zorica Pantelic:

Expressing his support to the workers' demands, Smiljkovic said the following:

"I shall join your demands here and demand that the SFRY Presidency and the Federal Government carry out consistently all measures on the basis of the conclusions they have adopted in the meantime. If they fail to do that, then we shall have to haul them onto the carpet. [applause] Students of Belgrade University did so last night and I am joining them here. [applause]"

Recalling the fact that the counterrevolution in Kosovo was organized and planned long ago by those people who are still freely walking throughout our homeland, Rados Smiljkovic said the following:

"Comrades, the problem lies in the following: In the federal leadership as well as in some of the republican leaderships there is no Yugoslav and human attitude toward solving problems, toward the struggle against terrorism in Yugoslavia."

The majority of the Yugoslav citizens are in favor of a united SFRY with its equal peoples and nationalities, Smiljkovic said and added the following:

"As for Serbia, it will always have an open heart, our republic will be open to all the people of this world [applause] and, of course, first of all for our brothers and comrades from other republics. Those individuals and groups rallied into some sort of organizations formed on the national basis in a number of our republics should not harbor any illusions that their actions will provoke the Serbian people into undertaking anything unreasonable toward its brothers in other nationalities, toward its comrades in other nationalities."

Finally, speaking out in solidarity with the demands of the workers of the Ivo Lola Ribar Factory, Rados Smiljkovic said the following:

"Comrades, a battle is being waged in Kosovo. Lives are being lost there, comrades. Lives are being lost. I think that we here should send a message to the SFRY leadership to the effect that it must undertake all measures with a view to ending that life or death fight between those who defend Yugoslavia and the terrorists."

31 Jan Events Reported

AU3101222090 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Editorial Report] Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian at 1800 GMT on 31 January devotes 23 minutes of an extended 55-minute newscast to situation reports in various communes.

A report by a radio correspondent in the city of Pec begins by saying that "the political and security situation in Pec Commune is extremely critical; insecurity reigns in the city." The correspondent goes on to say that new demonstrations took place today, particularly near the railroad station. The demonstrators, he says, were chanting the usual slogan: "Democracy, Democracy." The demonstrators were dispersed only through the use of tear gas by militia. Demonstrations took place also in some surrounding villages. Strikes are also reported in a number of factories.

A second telephone report, this time from Suva Reka, says that new demonstrations began about noon and, later on, at about 1400. The correspondent says that "according to the authorities, a total of about 6,000 people participated in the demonstrations." Local authorities have met to discuss the situation. Strikes are also reported in several factories.

In Prizren, the demonstrations were, apparently, not on such a large scale, the local reporter saying that "only small groups of between 100-150 people took part." They were dispersed by the militia, who used tear gas. A named member of the League of Communists (LC) of Serbia Central Committee, is reported to have met local Serbs and Montenegrins to reassure them about their safety.

A further report, this time from Urosevac, says that "barricaded groups of demonstrators have been active on the outskirts of the city, blocking some major roads leading into the city." "Later during the day," says the reporter, "larger groups of demonstrators entered the center of the city, with reinforcements coming regularly from outlying villages. The number of demonstrators is growing every minute." The militia again used tear gas to disperse the demonstrators. Local officials met with members of the Serbian LC Central Committee who had come to review the situation.

A similar report from Kacanik Commune says that "a tense and insecure atmosphere reigned in the city." Local activists were busy trying to calm down the people. The reporter says that a demonstrations is taking place while he is making this report, adding: "The people are chanting the usual slogans for more freedom and democracy. The demonstrators are also singing the song "Our Oath (Besa Bese)." The militia are trying to disperse the demonstrators with tear gas.

Similar reports are also included from Podujevo, Titova Mitrovica, where 2,000 were said to have gathered near the bus station; Lipjan Commune, and Gnjilane Commune, where strikes are also reported. In Viti Commune, the situation is described by a reporter as "dramatic," and the authorities have closed the markets in the city and in some villages.

In Glogovac, according to TANJUG, three people were killed and about 10 others injured in clashes between the demonstrators and the militia.

The announcer then goes on to cite TANJUG correspondents saying that their work is being made more difficult by attacks from groups of demonstrators. There are also a number of reports of Serbian officials from Belgrade meeting local Serbs and Montenegrins to reassure them about their safety.

Other reports from Kosovo cite youth federation and trade union officials making appeals for the restoration of order.

Security Forces Called in

LD3101204490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2017 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] Pristina, 31 Jan (TANJUG)—According to the latest information, by about 1900 this evening security forces had succeeded in breaking up most of the mass demonstrations by Albanian separatists. Demonstrations are continuing, however, in Titova Mitrovica and Gnjilane.

In Titova Mitrovica, the police this evening are trying to disperse about 2,500 demonstrators, who are rampaging in three parts of the town. Approximately 1,000 Albanian separatists are demonstrating aggressively in Gnjilane.

This afternoon, the most dramatic situation was, however, in Glogovac, but aggression by a group of nationalists is still continuing late this evening on the outskirts of Urosevac.

Conflicts, Shootings in Kosovo

AU3101225090 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Milivoje Mihajlovic report from Pristina]

[Text] Something that everybody feared most, an open interethnic conflict, occurred in the village of Srpski Vrsevac near Lipljan today. A group of villagers, ethnic Albanians, carried an armed attack against their neighbors—Serbs and Montenegrins—who then had to retaliate with arms. So far, there are no reports that anybody has been injured. There were shootings in several places in Kosovo today, too. We have learned that some people have been killed in the conflicts between militia and Albanian terrorists in Glogovac, Vucitrn, and Kolisa. Strong security forces, with the help of special units, managed to literally free Podujevo from the siege of Albanian separatists and terrorists only after dusk.

Demonstrators are still running wild in the villages of Trnava, Glavnik, Penduka, and Luzane. Groups of masked and armed Albanian separatists are intercepting vehicles on the Kursumlija-Pristina road this evening again.

The situation between Prizren and Suva Reka, that is, in the villages of Sotina, Musotiste, and Zajici, is extremely dramatic tonight. Separatists have set up five-meter-high barricades of concrete columns in Musotiste, so militia cannot reach the village. One patrol managed to break through the separatists' encirclement and reach the village militia station 2 hours ago. A diversion has been carried out on the power line, so the village has been left without electricity. Militia believes that it will be able to bring all Serb and Montenegrin families in Musotiste into safety. A transformer station in the village of Sotine has been damaged, too and Serbs and Montenegrins from the Zajivi Village which is under siege are calling for help.

Militia managed to crush demonstrations in almost all other places in Kosovo. However, groups of armed outlaws are hiding in the forests around Pec. Fear and insecurity has entered Serb and Montenegrin homes. Having learned their lessons during previous nights when Albanian separatists attacked their houses, people in Serb and Montenegrin villages organize night vigils. One is not advised to travel through Kosovo tonight, too.

Separatists have been keeping Podujevo, Pec, Decani, Glogovac, Lipljan, Vucitrn, and many Kosovo villages under siege for hours. They have been particularly aggressive along highways that link Kosovo with Serbia, Macedonia, and Montenegro. They are setting up barricades and stoning all vehicles.

Groups of trained terrorists have joined demonstrators, even snipers who shoot at people in blue uniforms. Their task is to cause bloodshed, so they do not hold back even from shooting at demonstrators, too, in order to cause revolt among Albanians. This could be seen from the fact that bullets of various calibers that do not belong to the militia have been found in the militiamen flak jackets and the demonstrators' bodies.

The moment night falls, Albanian separatists go through villages and spread misiniformation about a large number of dead and therefore cause discontent and hatred toward Serbia and Yugoslavia.

Albanian separatists' aggressiveness has been fomented from outside, too. People of the Prizren First Local Commune today sent criminal report against Ciril Ribicic and Sonja Lokar to the federal public prosecutor in which among other things they say that the two are direct culprits for the Kosovo bloodshed.

Another uneasy night is awaiting Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins. About 4,000 of them gathered in Kosovo Polje this evening. They are revolted and warn that the situation in Kosovo is desperate. They decided not to leave the province at any cost. Their message to the Albanians is that peace in Kosovo should be held sacred by everybody.

Death Toll

LD0102113590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1049 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] Pristina, 1 Feb (TANJUG)—In the latest Albanian separatist demonstrations in Kosovo and in clashes with security forces, 18 demonstrators, or citizens, and one policeman were killed. Kosovo Information Secretary Jorgovanka Milojevic said this today at a news conference. According to her, 54 demonstrators and 44 policemen have been injured. One policeman is still critically ill.

Jorgovanka Milojevic refused to comment on these figures.

Representatives of the Kosovo Secretriat for Internal Affairs failed to appear at today's news conference, although their presence was expected. Their absence was explained by the tight schedule owing to current events in Kosovo.

Further on Casualties

AU0102113490 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] The situation in Kosovo is relatively peaceful but tense and uncertain. TANJUG has discovered that at least seven people died and considerably more were injured in the dramatic events last night. According to some quite reliable reports, three demonstrators died in unrest in Golgovac, two in Pec, and two of the dead were identified as coming from Djakovica. Several dozen militiamen have been wounded in the unrest, which has been continuing for 8 days.

Politically motivated strikes have continued in several Kosovo collectives. Stari Trg miners have not gone to work, and employees at the Suva Reka Balkan plant have not worked for 7 days. Workers at the Vucitrn Polet factory have gathered in the factory hall and are standing in silent protest against everything that has been happening in Kosovo in the last few days.

'About 2,000' Demonstrate in Tetovo

LD0102120690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1135 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] Tetovo, 1 Feb (TANJUG)—At about 1120 this morning, Albanian nationalists and separatists appeared in the streets of Tetovo [Macedonia]. A column of demonstrators was formed at the Marshal Tito square in the center of the town. The demonstrators chanted slogans with hostile content and from positions of greater-Albanian nationalism and separatism. It is estimated that about 2,000 mostly young people are taking part in these demonstrations.

Serbs Welcome Army in Kosovo

AU0102123790 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Milivoje Mihajlovic report from Pristina]

[Text] Movements by units of the Yugoslav People's Army have been noticed in many places in Kosovo this morning. As part of their regular training, members of the armored vehicle units of the Yugoslav People's Army passed through Kosovo Polje and the regions of Podujevo and Lipljan this morning. Citizens, especially Serbs and Montenegrins, greeted the Army units with relief and, as they said, they now feel much safer.

Members of the Yugoslav People's Army are energetically denying the disinformation that is being spread by Albanian nationalists, that demonstrators have been fired at from the Army vehicles and tanks have been used to disperse gatherings. The Army has in recent days only been carrying out programs of regular combat training.

We have discovered that demonstrations by Albanian separatist began again in Podujevo at noon precisely. Groups of demonstraters tried to get as far as Suva Reka. About 400 of them in the village of Grazda are shouting the slogan, Long live the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo, and are demanding the replacement of Rahman Morina.

Groups of demonstrators are today trying to win over as many supporters as possible in the villages around Prizren and Suva Reka. High concrete barricades are still on the roads in the village of Musotiste. The forces of law and order have managed to get through to the village police station. They are making an effort to repair the transformer station that demonstrators damaged last night.

A group of Serbs and Montenegrins from Ljubizde asked for protection this morning from a unit of the special militia detachment in Prizren.

The Prizren-Suva Reka road is passable today. The barricades that were erected by demonstrators last night have been taken away.

At a news conference in the Provincial Secretariat for Information, Yugoslav and foreign journalists were informed that 18 people have died and 54 demonstrators and citizens have been wounded in the unrest so far. One militiaman has died and one is seriously wounded and doctors are fighting for his life. Forty three members of the security service have been injured and wounded.

During the unrest, 15,000-20,000 Albanian workers have been striking daily in Kosovo collectives. Large enterprises like the electrical industry and the Trepca mine have generally been working unhindered.

On several occasions, demonstrators have used barricades to block most Kosovo roads but transport was working normally in the province this morning. There has so far not been any great difficulties in getting supplies to Kosovo citizens.

Belgrade Serbs Denounce Tito

AU3101174190 Paris AFP in English 1706 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 31 (AFP)—Thousands of Serbs shouted insults against the late Yugoslav leader Josef Broz Tito and demanded an end to communism here Wednesday, an AFP correspondent at the scene said.

The protestors gathered in a central square and shouted "Tito, criminal," "Tito-Ceausescu" in a reference to the executed former dictator of Romania and "Down with the communists."

4,000 Protest at Belgrade Square

AU3101183690 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1810 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] More than 4,000 people have gathered at the Republican Square in Belgrade, in front of the monument to Prince Mihajlo, in protest against the terror of Albanian separatists in Kosovo. Here is a report by Dragan Caran:

This meeting is formally being held at the invitation of a group of Serbs and Montenegrins form Kosovo and Metohija. However, a larger group of the members of the forbidden Sava society, with their well-known symbols, is also there. They aggressively tried to impose an extremely nationalist character upon the meeting. Together with a demand that the Kosovo drama be solved, they tried to present ideas and stances out of the program of the Serbian National Renewal Party. One offered not only solutions for the Kosovo tragedy, but also a complete change of sociopolitical and interethnic relations and the complete character of the Federation.

All these mostly militant demands are at variance with the laws of a law-governed state and methods that such a state has at its disposal. When some of the people present tried to present different stances, they were brutally removed from the pedestal of the monument to Prince Mihajlo.

The meeting at the Republican Square is under way.

Further on Belgrade Demonstration

LD0102021490 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2352 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 31 (TANJUG)—The police this evening, some time after 22:00 (21:00 GMT), dispersed participants of the rally in Belgrade organized by the "Serbian National Renewal", a banned nationalistic oriented opposition party, to protest against the events in Kosovo.

The police intervened after participants of the meeting refused to listen to Serbian Presidency member Mihailo Kertes's call to disperse, continuing to shout slogans against the Yugoslav State Presidency President Janez Drnovsek and against the Communist Party.

The rally was organized in the afternoon at the Central Republic Square, and subsequently moved to the Serbian Presidency building in the evening.

Further on Belgrade, Other Rallies

LD0102020590 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2350 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 31 (TANJUG)—Rallies were held in Belgrade, Titograd, Kosovo Polje and Istok on Wednesday to protest against the strained situation in the Yugoslav Province of Kosovo, where ethnic Albanian chauvinists and separatists have been rioting for the past nine days, during which there have been armed clashes with police, resulting in loss of life.

At the rally in Titograd, more than one hundred thousand citizens of the Republic of Montenegro adopted conclusions demanding of the Yugoslav State Presidency, federal parliament and federal government to take immediate steps to protect the threatened non-Albanian (Serbian and Montenegrin) minority population in Kosovo and that the Army help the police forces which have been endeavouring to restore law and order in the province.

The participants in the rally gave the State Presidency 48 hours in which to take the necessary measures to settle the situation in Kosovo, saying that, otherwise, the people would get organized and rise up in defence of freedom, justice and the homeland.

Three thousand Serbs and Montenegrins, gathered at the rally in Kosovo Polje, emphasized they would not leave Kosovo and Metohija (the former name of the province). They told the ethnic Albanian population that they wanted to live alongside them, but would not negotiate with separatists and terrorist groups as militants of the so-called greater Albania.

The participants in the Kosovo Polje rally were addressed by member of the Serbian Republican Presidency Miroslav Djordjevic, who stressed that Serbia would never give up Kosovo. He particularly emphasized that the safety of all citizens living in the province would be guaranteed and that Serbia would do everything to ensure this.

Serbs and Montenegrins protested today also in the Kosovo town of Istok, where they firmly demanded that all legal means be employed to protect the integrity of all citizens and that the legal state finally start functioning. They also demanded to be issued arms for self-defence from possible attacks by ethnic Albanian extremists.

Several thousand Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo and citizens of Belgrade rallied in Belgrade's central Trg Republike Square for the "Salvation of Kosovo and Metohija". The organizers stressed that the Serbian Government would be approached with a request for "forming units of volunteers to defend the Serbian population, homes, lands and holy places in Kosovo".

There were some extremist calls for an urgent military intervention in Kosovo and the replacing of some generals of the Yugoslav People's Army.

Representatives of the Nationalist Serbian People's Renaissance Party, banned for its extreme stands, also addressed the rally. They demanded that a national salvation committee be formed, which they said should include representatives of all political parties in Serbia and in all Serbs-populated parts of Yugoslavia.

Several hundred participants in this rally then proceeded to demonstrate outside the Presidency of Serbia building.

Dissatisfied with the conduct of the extremists, some eight hundred citizens organized a separate rally outside the federal parliament building. They asked that the demands for resolving the situation in Kosovo, made by Belgrade students yesterday, be met, and announced that, unless this should be done, they would hold another rally tomorrow afternoon.

Belgrade Protesters Disperse

AU0102082990 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0300 GMT 1 Feb 90

[Text] The most persistent participants of the protest meeting at Belgrade Republic Square and in front of the Serbian Presidency dispersed at about 2230 [2130 GMT] last night. This meeting was dominated by a militant group of members of the Serbian National Revival, the banned Sava society from Nova Pazova. They repeated in front of the Serbian Presidency the anticommunist demands that had already been emphasized at Republic Square.

The participants in the meeting were addressed by Mihajl Kertez, member of the Serbian Presidency, who promised that their demands would immediately be presented to the government and who then asked them to disperse. His call, especially with reference to the Yugoslav leadership and when he said that nationalists should not lead the citizens who had gathered, was rejected.

This was followed by the intervention of the militia, which singled out the most aggressive participants in the protest meeting. The other protagonists broke up into several small groups and then dispersed.

Presidency Statement on Kosovo

LD3101215690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2037 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] Belgrade, 31 Jan (TANJUG)—The SFRY Presidency assures all citizens of Yugoslavia that at this dramatic juncture for our country they may be sure that the state possesses the means and the strength to carry out its obligations and prevent terrorism of any kind, the statement from today's session of the SFRY Presidency says.

At the session, presided over by President Janez Drnovsek, the SFRY Presidency considered the latest political-security situation in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo. The text of the statement reads:

It is the SFRY Presidency's view that the country has embarked on profound economic and political changes. We have a real chance of overcoming the economic stagnation and high inflation and of soon creating conditions for a new cycle of development to begin. There is general consensus in the country on our entry into Europe which will become increasingly integrated and united in democracy and prosperity. Likewise, the door is open to political pluralism of a multiparty type, on which there is also general agreement. The SFRY Presidency had adopted and sent to the SFRY Assembly a proposal for the adoption of a new constitution, and the Federal Executive Council [FEC] and assemblies of individual republics have sent proposals for amendments to the existing constitution which should be adopted urgently in order to clear the way for those changes in the economic and political system which cannot wait until the adoption of a complete new constitution.

It is necessary for all of us in the country to unite in the tasks of joint progress and the democratization of social life.

The SFRY Presidency calls upon all state organs, political leaderships, the public press, and all our country's citizens who are concerned for its peace, stability, human rights and civil liberties, and the equality of nations and nationalities, not to do anything which would contribute to the spread of mistrust, mutual recriminations on a national and republican basis, and disquiet among the people, and could lead to the unbridled spread of dissatisfaction with possible tragic consequences for all of us and for our country.

Despite the measures and conclusions of the SFRY Presidency and the FEC, and the efforts of the legal organs in the Socialist Autonomous Province [SAP] of Kosovo and the Socialist Republic of Serbia, the situation in Kosovo is worsening and posing a danger of bloody conflicts on an interethnic basis.

The SFRY Presidency has not rescinded its decision on the ban on mass gatherings in the SAP of Kosovo, which is the only remaining measure of the state of emergency apart from the obligation to work in some work collectives of vital importance for life in the province. The SFRY Presidency therefore calls on all competent organs to consistently implement them in order to eliminate the further danger of outbreaks of violence in the demonstrations by Albanians which are leading to bloodshed and loss of life. The SFRY Presidency has particularly ordered that measures should be taken for the immediate protection of peace and the security of citizens in all settlements in the SAP of Kosovo where there is a danger of interethnic feuds.

The SFRY Presidency particularly appeals to all citizens and democratically oriented forces in the ranks of the Albanian nationality in the SAP of Kosovo, in the interests of peace, equality, and respect for human freedom in the SAP of Kosovo, the Socialist Republic of Serbia, and the country as a whole, to oppose all individuals and groups which are resorting to violence or are encouraging it from positions of nationalism or separatism.

The SFRY Presidency expresses its firm orientation toward the development of democracy throughout the country, and thus also in the SAP of Kosovo, and toward an equitable and peaceful existence in harmony and understanding of Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, and members of all nations and nationalities which live in this province.

The SFRY Presidency considers that the conflict between the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the Socialist Republic of Slovenia is considerably hampering the solution of problems in the country as a whole and therefore calls on the leaderships of the Socialist Repulic of Serbia and the Socialist Republic of Slovenia to immediately set about resolving and removing contentious issues and problems, which would also contribute to the solution of the problems in Kosovo.

The SFRY Presidency will call for the convening of a session of the SFRY Assembly at which it will submit a report on the situation in the country and the measures which it is taking.

Titova Mitrovica LC on Chance of Civil War

LD3101133990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1118 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] Titova Mitrovica, 31 Jan (TANJUG)—The political and security situation in the municipality is serious and complex. Unless measures are taken to suppress and provide protection against terrorist actions by Albanian nationalists and separatists the situation will threaten to degenerate into civil war. This was said during the emergency session today of the League of Communists Municipal Committee in Titova Mitrovica. The situation is rendered difficult especially because of work stoppages in certain Trepca collectives and because of the efforts by Albanian nationalists and separatists to organize demonstrations on a massive scale.

For instance, in the Stari Trg mine six shifts of miners failed to turn up for work during the past 5 days, and in Industrija Akumulatora works between 300 and 400 workers of Albanian nationality stopped working on two occasions supporting, in so doing, the demands of the demonstrators. On one occasion about 200 workers in the lead metallurgical plant in Svecan stopped working expressing endorsement for the demands of a group of students in Pristina, and the same was done yesterday by 70 workers of the Trepca equipment processing plant in Titova Mitrovica.

The proposal by Basri Plana, a member of the Provincial Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Kosovo, to render full support for provincial organs, organs of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, and of the SFRY, and for all proposed measures to preserve freedom, peace, and order in Kosovo and the integrity of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and of Yugoslavia, received unanimous endorsement. The demand was also voiced to initiate criminal proceedings against the leaderships of the Socialist Republics of Slovenia and Croatia who, with their stands, had provided the encouragement for and were feeding terrorist actions by Albanian nationalists and separatists in Kosovo. It was said during the meeting that special measures and the compulsory work will be reintroduced in the zinc metallurgical works, in the accumulator works, in transport enterprises, and in the electricity generation and transmisson enterprises.

Slovene, Army Party Officials Meet

AU3101165990 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1430 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] Representatives of the leadership of the League of Communists in the Yugoslav People's Army, Admirals Petar Simic and Stane Brovet, and Colonel Vaso Predojevic, met with Ciril Ribicic and his associates in Ljubljana today. In their talks, they exchanged their views on, and assessments of, the political situation in Yugoslavia that arose with the adjournment of the 14th Extraordinary Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, and on their future mutual relations.

The meeting is part of the implementation of the initiative for direct talks among the leaderships of the League of Communists which was addressed by Milan Kucan on behalf of the Slovene Communists to all the republican and provincial Leagues of Communists and the League of Communists Organization in the Yugoslav People's Army.

Kosovo LC Assesses 23, 24 Jan Protests

AU3101152690 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 26 Jan 90 p 5

[Unattributed report: "Assessments and Stands of the Kosovo League of Communists Provincial Committee Presidium Following the Gatherings and Demonstrations of Citizens of the Albanian Nationality in Pristina on 23 and 24 January 1990"]

[Text] Despite the SFRY Presidency's measures forbidding assembly for the purpose of demonstration, gatherings and demonstrations of citizens of Albanian nationality took place in Pristina on 23 and 24 January 1990. On the first day, several hundred young people, mainly students, gathered allegedly in relation to the killing of Nuredin Nuredini in Macedonia as a result of the demolition of the walls surrounding his house. The assembled persons refused the discussions offered to their chosen representatives by the Presidium of the Kosovo League of Communists [LC] Provincial Committee. They were then informed of the readiness of the president of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee to receive a delegation for talks the next day. The assembled persons then read out their political demands, which were repeated, with additional demands, on the following day when about 10,000 people assembled and the gathering turned into a demonstration.

After the talks offered by the Kosovo LC Central Committee were again refused, both in the hall of the Kosovo Assembly and in the Boro and Ramiz Sports Hall, the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee president, with all the members of the Presidium and the leaders of the province's sociopolitical organizations, appeared before the assembled crowds and informed them of the LC's stands on the matters they had raised, stressing the harmfulness and possible consequences of such a way of presenting political demands. Most of his speech met with signs of disapproval, and his call for the crowds to disperse was not heeded, even after their representative was given the opportunity to read out their demands once again.

As time passed, the demonstrations took an ugly turn; hostile slogans were shouted, the provincial leadership and its most distinguished members were insulted, and demands for their resignation were put forward. The following slogans were shouted: "Free all political prisoners"; "War, war"; "Kosovo, yes—Serbian empire, no"; "No, no, Serbia, you will not be an empire"; "Long live Adem Demaci"; "Resign, resign"; "No, no, no Serbia, we are not a colony"; "Eho, eho"; "Kosovo—republic"; "Blood for blood"; "Genocide for genocide"; and the songs, "Oath, Our Oath" [Besa- Bese]; "We Will Give Our Lives for Kosovo"; and "A Drum Beats in Dardania" [ancient Illyrian name for Kosovo] were sung.

Since the security service's many warnings for the participants in the demonstration to disperse were not heeded, these organs took sufficient steps to ensure this by using water cannon and tear gas.

Some of the demonstrators were extremely aggressive, breaking windows and damaging motor vehicles, while several cases of demonstrators forcing entry into apartments were recorded.

The meeting of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium on 24 January, in which all the province's most distinguished leaders and the chairmen of the LC Communal Committees of the communes of Kosovo also took part, unanimously took the view that these gatherings and demonstrations were well organized with the political purpose of spreading to the extent of toppling all the institutions of the political system and totally paralyzing society in the province, a fact which shows that the organizers are seeking to maintain the continuity of the hostile events of November, February, and March. Under the guise of calls for democracy, political pluralism, freedom, and equality, they in fact showed their aims of eliminating the LC from the political scene and undoing everything to which the LC is committed.

It is clear that in this case the proceedings and results of the 14th Extraordinary League of Communists of Yugoslavia Congress and the speeches and proposals of a number of delegates acted as incitement to the demonstrators.

The most recent gatherings and demonstrations of members of the Albanian nationality seriously exacerbate the current, already complicated situation and threaten a further deterioration in the general political and security situation in Kosovo, with dangerous consequences. This will significantly hamper and slow down our efforts to prevent Serbian and Montenegrin emigration, to create a common front for action of all progressive forces in Kosovo and all peoples and nationalities in order to improve interethnic relations and to achieve full national equality, our efforts to introduce a genuinely law-governed state, and our efforts to guarantee full freedom and rights for every individual and citizen in Kosovo. It will also hamper the spread of democratic processes and the interplay of progressive ideas and programs within the context of party pluralism, which the Kosovo LC also advocated at the 15th Kosovo LC Conference.

The Presidium observed that it was also evident on this occasion that the Albanian nationalists and separatists do not enjoy the support of the majority of the Albanian nationality.

On the basis of unanimously approved assessments, the Presidium of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee has adopted the following stands:

1. Kosovo LC bodies and organizations should assess the political and security situation at once and lay down immediate tasks, activities, and measures, with the aim of preventing all kinds of hostile activity. In the course of this, there is to be criticism of the performance of individuals in carrying out policies laid down by the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

2. Through discussions with political aktivs, secretaries of basic organizations, and chairmen of other LC bodies, as well as in other ways (councils, meetings of Communists, working meetings, and roundtables), Communists, working people, and citizens should be fully informed about the character and aims of the hostile demonstrations of 23 and 24 January. Further political activity, especially work with the people, should be carried out at once.

3. The Presidium of the LC Provincial Committee commits itself to extending the process of democratization and political pluralism, including a multiparty system. However, ideopolitical activity must expose all tendencies to organize parties and associations on a national basis which, under the guise of alleged democracy and a definition of political pluralism, offer unacceptable programs which can only deepen interethnic divisions, confrontations, and rifts.

4. Communists and sociopolitical organizations in state bodies and working collectives, particularly in educational institutions and the university, have the special duty and responsibility of acting on these standpoints.

5. In the situation that has arisen, Communists in the media have an exceptionally important role, besides reporting such gatherings objectively, to expose the essence of hostile demonstrations in their articles and commentaries.

6. The Kosovo LC Provincial Committee must be regularly informed about all trends and activities carried out by LC communal organizations.

Kosovo LC Committee Adjourns Until 5 Feb

LD3101164390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1217 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Text] Pristina, 31 Jan (TANJUG)—The session of the Kosovo LC [League of Communists] Provincial Committee, convened for 3 February, is adjourned for Monday, 5 February.

The reasons for adjournment were not stated. It is expected that, at the plenum, the provincial committee will assess the situation in the LC after the break-off of the 14th Extraordinary League of Communists of Yugoslavia Congress, as well as the topical, increasingly more dramatic situation in Kosovo.

Several members and executive secretaries of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium have been in Kosovo in the past few days. They are visiting municipal LC organizations. Political activists are mostly engaged in those areas where in the past few days, assaults of Albanian separatists on the Yugoslavia's social and political system were the fiercest.

Kosovo Rights Body Urges End to 'Repression'

AU3101173590 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 27 Jan 90 p 6

[Unattributed report: "A Final End to Repression Demanded"]

[Text] The Council for the Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms in Pristina has sent the following communique to the media:

"On 24 January this year, the militia forces controlling the state of emergency in Kosovo, which was declared almost 1 year ago, once again demonstrated their inhuman methods of repression with their use of the most brutal violence against the innocent population, which was peacefully voicing its discontent in front of the League of Communists [LC] Provincial Committee building in Pristina at the present political situation and the restriction of rights and freedoms, asking for more democracy both for the Albanians and the country's other peoples.

"The Council for the Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms in Pristina demands a final end to repression, freedom of assembly, free expression of opinion, and the release of 115 people who, by official admission, were arrested by the militia merely because they assembled and called for more freedom and democracy.

"This council repeats its demand for the lifting of the state of emergency in Kosovo, as one of the state's harshest ways of limiting freedoms.

[The following passage appears separated from the text of the council's communique by asterisks]

The Council for the Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms in Pristina responded to the show of force and the use of "violence" against the innocent population, which was peacefully voicing its discontent in front of the LC Provincial Committee building in Pristina..." [quotation marks as received] It seems that the representative of this council did not take part in this hostile demonstration. If he had come closer, he would have heard political demands, hostile and counterrevolutionary slogans, insults, and bad language... We remind communique's author how the demonstrators peacefully voiced their discontent by breaking shop windows and looting goods, damaging motor vehicles, and entering apartments by force, thus alarming innocent citizens.

We are convinced that the hostile and destructive demonstrations do not contribute to the peace and ease of mind of the Albanian nationality or that of the other peoples and nationalities in Kosovo and beyond.

Daily on Slovene Contributions to Federal Fund

AU3101210290 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 28 Jan 90 p 8

[Zvonko Logar commentary: "Asymmetry At Work"]

[Text] The disappointment caused by the adjournment of the 14th Extraordinary Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] has instantaneously increased the rating—as one would say in the chess terminology—of Ante Markovic's government. Although Slovenia had been announcing for a long time that its delegation could leave the congress in Belgrade, the public was nevertheless hopeful that the tied Yugoslav knot would somehow be untied at this congress. Since this did not happen, the LCY is left with the possibility of "retaking the examination," while the government's program of reforms comes to the fore.

The public at large deeply believes that the events that took place at the very end of the 14th extraordinary congress have endangered yet another Yugoslav institution. What is left as one of the last hopes is the government and its program. Although he did not appear at the official congress rostrum, Ante Markovic, in the style of a skillful politician, made a statement which was probably the most noticed statement on that day: "Yugoslavia will continue to function, with or without the League of Communists." His statement immediately went into the press and was quoted and retold on radio and television on numerous occasions.

Much as this statement was supposed to moderate the feeling of disappointment, it also showed that the government had felt its chance had come. Encouraged by the fact that no one has seriously challenged his program of reforms, Markovic made a few more statements from which one could conclude that he believes that the circumstances are favorable for him. First of all, he said that the Federal Executive Council was only accountable to the SFRY Assembly, and not to any other organization, including the LC. In an improvised conversation with journalists a few days later, immediately after the government's session, he optimistically spoke about the new initiative for constitutional changes which now also include the amendments concerning the political system.

That the government is determined to begin some kind of an offensive was also indicated by two of its vice presidents. Zivko Pregl again hinted that Ante Markovic' cabinet is counting on the mandate up to 1994, while in Novi Sad, Aleksandar Mitrovic more than favorably assessed the prospects of bringing down inflation during this year.

Whether this optimism is justified, and to what extent, will be seen in the days ahead. It is certain, however, that before us there are many complications which will put the government and other federal organs to the test.

It looks as if one of these tests is already in sight. This week, we received from Slovenia, which started an avalanche of distrust in the federation, threats that the Assembly of that republic could reduce its contributions to the fund for running federal institutions. The fund for inducing the development of underdeveloped republics and Kosovo would be the first to suffer.

The official reason of the Slovene Executive Council for this step is the suspension of economic cooperation between Serbian and Slovene firms. From the published, but otherwise largely unclear accounts, it appears that Slovene firms were not able to collect the $105.4 million of debts owed to them by Serbian firms. This has allegedly reduced Slovenia's social product by 1.32 percent and its share in the social product of Yugoslavia—as calculated by Ljubljana—fell from the current 19.4 percent to only 14.3 percent.

Of course, it is not very likely that, because of the canceled businesses, this drop in the social product could have happened in such a short period of time. But let us put this aside. It is more likely that the break in economic ties with Serbia is only an excuse to reduce its contributions to the federation which Slovenia long thought were too high. A reduction in the contributions for inducing economic development of the underdeveloped parts of the country is supposed to be one of the main measures to achieve that. This reduction would allegedly amount to 48.1 percent, which is what Slovenia provides for Kosovo.

However, it is interesting to note this was not put in this way, but that a different formulation was used, namely that Slovenia's contributions for the underdeveloped regions would be reduced by the amount which goes to Serbia. Since the money from the Federal Fund for Serbia is exclusively used for Kosovo, one could rightly assume that this formulation was deliberately chosen so that it is not obvious that Slovenia is cutting down its aid to the underdeveloped province. The first thing that springs to mind is that this is connected with the Slovene politicians' many years of flirting with separatists in Kosovo .

The series of threats also includes the announcement that the Law on Financial Rescue of Banks, or to be more precise, those provisions that could be used to help Serbia's banking recover itself, could be blocked. Moreover, all this is being packaged in a gift wrap of principles and a law-governed state.

Even if the quoted figures on the damage that the Slovene economy has suffered were correct, one must raise a question of principle: Can one republic, without the consent of the federation, decide itself what it will contribute to common life and Yugoslavia's needs? Indeed, according to the latest amendments to the Slovene Constitution, it can. But what about the SFRY Presidency's statement according to which, in case the provisions of the republican and federal constitutions are in disagreement, the federal constitution will apply. Is this not a flagrant example of asymmetry at work?

The first reaction came from the fund for inducing the development of underdeveloped republics and provinces. The calculations of this institution show that, because of Slovenia's action, the total funds for the underdeveloped regions could be reduced by 8.37 percent which would—in view of the established procedure for distributing the money collected for this purpose—inevitably affect all parts of the federation entitled to receive aid from this source, and not just Kosovo. According to the fund's arguments, on the basis of the existing regulations such a unilateral decision cannot be made by any one republic or province, because the obligations to the underdeveloped were determined by the federal laws with everybody's agreement.

If the Slovene Assembly adopts the proposal of the republican government it will above all be the SFRY Presidency that will find itself tested. It would have to defend the principle—which it has cited itself—that the federal constitution must be regarded as the supreme legal act. In addition, it is a bit strange that the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia has not yet taken a public stand on the Slovene amendments despite the fact that the assembly has asked it to do it in the shortest possible time. Not wanting to cast doubt upon anyone's intentions, one cannot, however, help thinking that a political motive lies behind the delay to produce an authoritative legal stand.

The move by the Slovene Executive Council will be a major test for the Federal Executive Council. True, the Federal Executive Council is not in charge of putting into operation the regulations concerning the aid to economically underdeveloped regions, but it must directly be affected by the figures presented on the fall in the social product of Slovenia. These figures determine the obligations to the federation, and, in this case, they can endanger its finances. Will the government remain indifferent in view of that fact?

Although there are signs that Slovene businessmen also object to many of the government's anti-inflationary moves, above all the freezing of the dinar's exchange rate, its program of reforms, at least in public rhetoric, is fully accepted by the official Slovene policy. A thesis has even been launched in the public that the government's first initiative for the constitutional changes would have not been blocked by this republic, but that this had to be done because it is known who will come to head the government after Ante Markovic. This detail alone illustrates the extent to which Slovene politicians count on lobbying in the federation and how egocentric interests have always been given priority over the attempts to organize relations in Yugoslavia on principled and equal foundations.

In any case, at the end of the first week of February, when the Slovene Assembly is supposed to discuss the proposals to reduce contributions to the federation, it will be seen how justified is the government's optimism and whether the unpleasant episode at the end of the 14th extraordinary congress has helped it at all. After all, can this denouement benefit at all those who care for the federal organization of Yugoslavia?

Bosnian Daily Views Party 'Dead End'

AU3101140990 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Jan 90 p 7

[Unattributed commentary reprinted from Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE: "'Fraternal' Trip Up"—date not given]

[Text] Something has happened that was suspected but nevertheless seemed improbable: The League of Communists of Yugoslavia to all intents and purposes no longer exists. After the delegates of the League of Communists of Slovenia left the great hall of the Sava center in Belgrade at around 2230 on 22 January, accompanied by the thundering-cynical applause of the voting machine that had in the previous few hours insistently rejected any amendment to the declaration entitled "A New Project for Democratic Socialism and Yugoslavia" that had come out of Slovenia, the Extraordinary 14th Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia lost all meaning.

As Ivica Racan pointed out when he proposed that the congress suspend its work, being without one part of this federation from one republic, this political organization loses its element of Yugoslavism. This justified the fears that the Slovene Communists could abandon the congress before it ended after assessing that it was no longer possible to seek points of contact because there was no good will to do this, above all on the part of the organization from Serbia. It is possible that the Slovene demands were too ambitious and even rigid—which could also be said for those which were opposed to them—but it is not easy to shake off the impression that they demonstrated the desire for their ideas and arguments to be confronted with others and for a solution to be sought that would suit everyone. The rejection of every proposal that came from the Western part of the country took its toll: patience ran out.

There will be time to weigh every move that was made, but at the moment when the delegations of Communists from each republican league were discussing how to act in the situation that had arisen, it was possible to conclude without much consideration that one revolutionary party of enlightened traditions had been dealt a serious blow, from which it will find it difficult to recover.

This outcome of the Extraordinary 14th Congress will definitely considerably reduce the Communists' standing in Yugoslavia. Simply, a party would find it difficult to enjoy citizens sympathies if its members trip each other up and if one part of the organization sets traps for another and helps it to lose its authority in the community where it operates. This "fraternal" trip up at the moment when it nevertheless seemed that at least some agreement had been reached over helping each other to gain citizens's votes in the situation whereby new political parties are being created, produced a schism. The dead end that the League of Communists of Yugoslavia has reached and from which it has not managed to find an way out, has had an inglorious epilogue. It could happen that it will even lose members, ordinary honest working people who joined the League of Communists of Yugoslavia precisely because it is a Yugoslav party and not a republican and even less a national one.

'Interethnic Confrontation' at Congress

AU3101135590 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 24 Jan 90 p 3

[Ljube Profiloski commentary: "Inevitable Split"]

[Text] What was expected even at the beginning of the 14th Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] and during its first 2 days, happened at its very end, at the finale, when congress documents were being adopted. The Slovene delegation's walkout from the big hall of the Belgrade Sava Center in which the congress was held, officially means the final split in the LCY, something which was already recognizable over a lengthy period of tempestuous debates held at its plenums. Therefore, not only does the LCY already not exist as a united organization, but the entire political map of Yugoslavia will be completely different.

Although almost everything is clear now, many people believe that if a minimum coordination or a minimum compromise is reached, the congress can still continue its work and save something of that which is called a common party or Yugoslav league. The coming days will be very difficult for the highest party leadership. Although one should not see the split in the party as a kind of a general split in Yugoslavia as well, this inglorious end will certainly not fail to leave consequences on the general sociopolitical life in the country. One should be aware of the fact that to many Communists, this will mean an end to the bright ideals that this party cherished, with which this country has been developing since the war, and from which it will be difficult to part without certain traumas. However, it is also time one faced the bitter reality that one cannot live on ideals for ever and that democratic processes in our country and in the world have irretrievably blown off the postulates that the LCY had been relying upon. The LCY, in the way it has been so far, is incapable of catching up with these processes. Therefore, such a rift in the LCY should not be considered a tragedy, but more a necessary reality and an inevitable process in its democratic renewal.

Serb-Slovene Bickerings

The entire 3-day debate at the congress, as many past plenary sessions of the LCY Central Committee, was passed in outstanding duels between Slovene and Serbian views and opinions. Particularly surprising in them was the mostly uncultured and undemocratic dialogue which, instead of well-argued facts, offered various threats. Duels had in fact begun already at the beginning of the congress while the agenda was adopted— one could foresee such an end even then—and continued at the sessions of the three commissions, particularly the Commission for the Reform of the Political System which included the two "leaders" of the two confronted republics. This has also shown that the crisis of the Yugoslav society is most obvious in the political system. By the second day, Slovene delegates announced that they would leave the congress, but after 4-hour-long tempestuous session of the Congress' Working Presidium, their representatives agreed to stay.

The congress has shown that those people were right who claimed that it was held too late for a dogmatic and too early for reformist option in the League of Communists. Therefore, it was not accidental that there were demands to divide the united LCY into two organizations, a communist and a social-democratic organization; demands that it be transformed into a political party; as well as demands to recognize independence for republican organizations within the LCY, as a basic condition for its survival. The crisis in the LCY has acquired a state dimension, too, because the two confronted options of its further transformation are identified with two republics—Serbia and Slovenia.

Therefore, the clash between "democrats" and "conservatives" was in fact represented and established as a kind of confrontation between Slovenia and Serbia. In that way, passions were transferred from the party scene to the political, that is, a national one, so virtually no proposal or amendment made by the Slovene delegation could be adopted, since it was a minority. As is known, delegates to the congress had been elected according to the number of their party members and not the parity between republics and provinces. The League of Communists of Serbia, which has the largest number of Communists in the LCY had the largest number of delegates at the congress—out of 1,455 delegates, 563 were members of the League of Communists of Serbia. This interethnic confrontation was accompanied by undemocratic behavior, thunderous and cynical applause and laughing at speakers, so one did not have to say who had won. The debates at all three commissions resembled anything but a parliamentary and democratic communist dialogue, which in itself shows that a party like this can no longer retain its previous form.

Other Delegates in the Shadow

This was cited as one of the main arguments for the Slovene delegation leaving the congress. To be honest, it is difficult to justify some categorical and stubborn views of the Serbian delegation in not accepting even a single amendment coming from the north-western part of the country, just as it is difficult to understand some ultimatum-like moves and intolerance on the part of the Slovene delegation.

The guilt for this split, which the LCY experienced at its 14th, and its first extraordinary, congress, does not lie with the Serbian and the Slovene delegates alone, but also with the other parts of the LCY which failed to make any attempt to prevent it. All 3 days were overshadowed by the Serbian-Slovene clash. One cannot accept their explanation, which we heard, to the effect that every statement they made was slotted into one or the other option, or attached to one or the other republics. This particularly applies to delegates from Macedonia and Bosnia-Hercegovina who could be a strong cohesive factor at the congress and who could show that the LCY does not consist solely of Serbian and Slovene Communists, that it cannot represent views of only Serbian and Slovene members, and that the LCY should have an equal interest in and treatment of all its parts. At this congress, they unjustifiably played an inferior role and in fact failed to prevent it from being a congress of Serb and Slovene Communists. With a more offensive and principled approach and offering of their own views which should not be ignored, they will considerably contribute to returning debate to essential questions and prevent a polarization.

The congress had a chance to make important steps in the democratic transformation of the LCY, particularly by adopting the Declaration—"For a New Project of Democratic Socialism and a Federal Yugoslavia"—which includes elements to help the LCY to be transformed into a modern and democratic organization. Another big democratic step is to adopt the initiative to change provisions of the SFRY Constitution which guarantee the LCY the leading role in society, as well as changing the role of democratic centralism which can no longer be the basic principle of the internal party organization, in addition to the amendments that have been adopted as regards the LCY being divested of its monopoly.

In this respect, we should not abandon optimism, hoping that with great tolerance and patience one can overcome some of the existing misunderstandings and find the minimum of compromise solutions which would satisfy both confronted sides. This can be seen in the fact that a majority of congress delegates supported a united Yugoslav organization. However, that was not this LCY which can no longer remain on the Yugoslav political scene. No matter how it is organized in the future, one cannot ignore the impression that this revolutionary party with a bright tradition has been dealt a heavy blow from which it may find it difficult to recover.

Presidency Proposal for Constitution

LD3101205790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1146 GMT 31 Jan 90

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 31 Jan (TANJUG)—The right and freedom to organize politically, which imply the right and freedom to set up political parties, are one of the most important innovations in the SFRY Presidency's proposal for the SFRY's new constitution. The new constitution should guarantee and safeguard the electoral system's full democratization which will enable voters and political parties to freely and directly nominate their representatives and elect them in a secret ballot. Under the SFRY Presidency's proposal the principle of representatives must be employed in the election, structure, and operation of assemblies as the basic organs of power.

In an accompanying letter, which has also been submitted to the SFRY Assembly, Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, stresses that a high degree of harmony has been reached on most of the issues. Wide differences still exist over the issue of relations within the federation. During the work on the proposal views were heard to the effect that the proposed text should not contain "ideological" categories such as socialism, self-managing socialist society, self-management, the working people, equal nations, and nationalities.

The provisions about the status, freedoms, and rights of the people proceed from the stance that the people represent the highest value and objective of socialism. The principle of constitutionality and legality must be the criterion of everyone's conduct and the criterion of the relationship between legal acts. Production relations are conditioned by the nature of its commodities, the market, and the various forms of ownership.

When drafting a political system one has to proceed from the commitment that citizens and working people are the main protagonists of authority and administration, while nations and nationalities are the main protagonists in the fulfillment of national equality. Citizens and working people express and fulfill their interests through various forms of political and other kinds of organization and association.

Relations in the federation must be built in a way which will make it possible for citizens and working people, and nations and nationalities, to fulfill their sovereign rights in the republics and provinces, and in the federation when, in everyone's interest, this has been stipulated in the SFRY Constitution. The principle of the fulfillment of joint interests of the nations can be expressed so that the constitution will specify the issues which are of crucial importance for national equality, decided on by consensus among the republics as federal units and as states.

The all-people's defense concept will protect the freedom, independence, sovereignty, territorial unity, the system as laid down by the constitution, the unity of the national defense system, the unity of our Armed Forces, and the rights and duties of our citizens in this area.

Yugoslavia should base its international relations on the principles of respect for the sovereignty and equality of all countries, noninterference in the internal affairs of others, independence, nonalignment, and solution of international conflicts by peaceful means.

In the section on the freedoms, rights, and duties of the people and citizens the new constitution should comprehensively and accurately lay down individual rights with respect for the principle of reality, with the result that only those rights and freedoms should be guaranteed that are capable of fulfillment. Anything which is not explicitly forbidden by the constitution and the laws should be deemed to be free. The limit of freedom should be fixed through the recognition of the same rights for others.

The constitution should secure the rights of all citizens irrespective of their political and religious convictions and national membership, including the right of citizens to declare themselves to be Yugoslavs or indeed not to declare themselves nationally. These rights should be extended also to those referring to the protection of human environment, and those applying to the sphere of culture and information, and personal and social security.

In accordance with the proposal submitted by the Presidency legal protection of guaranteed rights should be available. [passage omitted: legal nuances on the interpretation of legislation]

The new constitution should express more consistently the autonomy and the independence of the judiciary in the discharge of its legal function as an essential element of constitutionality and legality. The condition required to bring this about is to guarantee the judges immunity and also the clear commitment that regular courts are simultaneously organs of state authority and of our community as a whole. Bearing in mind the federation's powers and its obligation to ensure a standardized application of federal regulations, the need for the transformation of the Federal Court into the Yugoslav Supreme Court must be considered. [passage omitted: definition of the role of the federal public attorney] [reception interrupted; tanjug takes 4 and 5 not received]

The new constitution, the section of the proposal submitted by the state Presidency dealing with relations in the federation stresses, must ensure the SFRY functions as a democratic federation in which human rights are consistently respected, the rights and duties of all its citizens and the national equality of the nations and nationalities are fulfilled, and the joint interests of the citizens, working people, nations, and nationalities are coordinated democratically. [passage omitted: internal organization in the republics]

Since the right to secession is implicit in the principle of the self-determination of the peoples, the SFRY Constitution must accurately work out the procedure for a possible secession. [passage omitted: the powers of the federation must be worked out in detail]

The SFRY Constitution should settle relations among the socialist republics as states and as federal units in a federal state, and the political and territorial autonomy of the socialist autonomous provinces should be guaranteed, too. The provinces should be directly represented in the organs of the federation and should decide on the issues which express their specific features and guarantee equality in fulfilling the rights of citizens regardless of their national membership on an equal footing with the republics.

The proposal also enumerates what the federation should ensure—freedoms and rights of the people and citizens, principles and bases of our economic and political system, sovereignty and territorial unity, security and our country's defense, and our international status and relations with other countries and international organizations. [passage omitted: the role of the federation in economic matters]

The Presidency proposes that a chamber of citizens [vece gradjana] be established within the SFRY Assembly. Deputies should be elected to it in territorial electoral units on the principle of proportional representation of all Yugoslav citizens. In addition to this stance two alternatives are envisaged—the first, according to which the clause "parallel with an appropriate corrective which will ensure a specific minimum representation of each federal unit" should be added to the basic proposal.

The second alternative envisages that in the chamber of citizens the deputies, depending on the jurisdiction of this chamber, could perhaps be elected on the principle of parity representation, with an identical number of representatives from the republics and a smaller number of representatives from the socialist autonomous provinces, or on the principle of proportional representation.

As far as the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces is concerned its composition should be based on the principle of parity representation of the republics and an appropriate representation of the provinces.

According to an alternative which relates to the overall structure of the SFRY Assembly, a chamber of labor [vece rada] should be set up, to which working people should be elected on the principle of the functional representation of different areas of labor.

In view of the fact that the SFRY Constitution spells out the issues which are of vital importance for national equality on which the decisions in the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces are made on the basis of consensus of federal units, the Constitution should also spell out when this consensus is not required. [passage omitted: the Federal Executive Council is the executive organ of the SFRY Assembly]

Proceeding from the stance that the SFRY Presidency should be expressed constitutionally more as an organ of the federation, the collective head of our state has proposed three options for its election—that state Presidency members be elected by the SFRY Assembly on the proposal of the republican and provincial assemblies; that they be elected by the republican and provincial assemblies, while their election is proclaimed by the Yugoslav Assembly; or that they be elected by all SFRY citizens, with the proviso that every republic and province is represented with one Presidency member.

The present SFRY Presidency relationship with the Yugoslav Assembly and the Federal Executive Council has to be reexamined. [passage omitted: future constitutional changes have to be rationalized] Together with the SFRY Presidency's proposal for beginning the adoption of the new constitution, the Yugoslav Assembly delegates have also been sent, as an altervative, the Slovene Presidency's proposal on how the country's supreme legal act should regulate relations in the federation.

Proceeding from the fact that they are founded on voluntarism, equality, and consistent respect for the specificities and independence of the federation members, the Slovene Presidency stresses that at the federal level only those powers of the federation which are conferred on it by all republics based on a consensus agreement should be implemented.

These are in the spheres of foreign policy, defense, the common basis of the economic and political system, the single market, and financing agreed joint functions. All other matters would be regulated by the republics and provinces, with the federation members reaching mutual agreement on jointly regulating and implementing other matters within their competence. The nations and citizens would have the right to self-determination, which includes the right to secession and affiliation. The SFRY Constitution should include the provisions of the republican constitutions on the procedure for secession.

The Slovene Presidency considers that in determining the federation's economic functions it is necessary to proceed from the fact that the federal state is not a subject with its own economic interests, rather the sovereign bearers of economic interests are the republics. They would reach agreement on the elements of the monetary, foreign exchange, customs, and foreign trade system and the status of economic subjects, while all other basic elements of the economic system could be joint, to the extent on which the republics agree.

The federation would be able to finance development tasks only on the basis of the special authorization and agreement of the republics and provinces, and without the possibility of proclaiming temporary measures.

Majority decisionmaking on the principle of "one man, one vote" in the republics and provinces is indisputable, but this principle, according to the Slovene Presidency proposal, "cannot be acceptable in our federation, because it can lead to the permanent outvoting of the less numerous nations and republics." Thus on issues which are of essential importance for them it is necessary to ensure the institution of decisionmaking by consensus.

In the opinion of the Slovene Presidency, the SFRY Assembly should have only one chamber and be set up on the principle of parity.

Members of the state's Presidency should be elected by republican assemblies, and their constitutions should envisage that they are directly elected by citizens in republics and provinces. The collective head of state should have clearly established functions concerning integration, representation, and protocol. He would make decisions with the consent of all members and only exceptionally, in the cases established by the constitution, by a 75-percent majority.

Considering that provinces are not states, they cannot have representatives in either the SFRY Presidency or the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia, while in the SFRY Assembly they would not take part in decision-making by consensus but would make decisions only within the framework of the Serbian delegation. [passage omitted: similar proposal for a special status of the capital]

The decision on declaring a state of emergency should be made by the SFRY Assembly with the consent of all the republics and provinces. It can declare it for the entire country or in any federal unit, at the proposal of the SFRY Presidency, if the country's integrity and its constitutional system are threatened by exceptional danger. The SFRY Presidency adopts such proposals unanimously.

The SFRY Assembly, with the consent of republican and provincial assemblies, determines by law which measures, aimed at temporary restriction of specific constitutional rights and freedoms, can be passed in emergency circumstances. Their application is determined by the SFRY Assembly or, upon its authorization, by the SFRY Presidency, with the consent of the republican and provincial presidencies.

In the case of war or immediate danger from war—if the SFRY Assembly is unable to meet—it will be the duty of the SFRY Presidency to declare a state of emergency and to take emergency measures. The collective head of state would have to submit his decision for aproval to the Assembly as soon as the latter is able to meet.

Croat LC Stand on LCY Congress

LD2801232590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1833 GMT 28 Jan 90

[Text] Zagreb, 28 Jan (TANJUG)—At its plenary session today the Croat LC [League of Communists] Central Committee adopted its stands and assessments regarding the 14th Extraordinary LCY [League of Communists of Yugoslavia] Congress whereby it is proposed that the presidents of the republican LCs agree on renewing the LCY's work and thus create the conditions for a democratic solution to the existing situation.

"The congress has demonstrated that there are deep differences about the key strategic issues between the supporters of the new attitudes and the old attitudes towards socialism, between the dogmatic and the democratic forces in the LC, something that the anti-reformist forces are trying to depict as divisions on a national and republican basis, it is stressed in the stands. There are also such attempts within the Croat LC. Our priority task is to make the true nature of these divisions and confrontations clear while preventing the abuse of the national feelings and emotions expressed on a large scale and also to clarify the need for true unity in Yugoslavia."

The Croat LC Central Committee assesses in its adopted document that in addition to having been encountered with intolerance the delegates of the Slovene LC were also being put into an unequal position in the work of the congress, as they were constantly outvoted. Therefore, the Slovene delegates' walking out of the Congress was a logical move in view of the attitudes towards their initiatives and proposals.

The delegates of the Croat LC, it is said, could not accept the continuation of an incomplete congress since this would mean a crude breach of the LCY statute. "In the circumstances in which political pluralism has not been established this might threaten the AVNOJ- [Anti-Fascist Council of People's Liberation of Yugoslavia] oriented character of the Yugoslav federation, it is stressed in the stands.

The adjournment of the congress, in the opinion of the Croat LC Central Committee, "was not welcome but even this outcome is positive—it showed to all those who have previously not had a clear view that unity within the LCY could not be established by any kind of formulae that do not recognize the fact that we need a new democratic programmic orientation and the LC as a modern party. The adjournment thus emerges as an opportunity for the reformist line, the one that on earlier occasions was not met with enough understanding.

"We maintain that relations within the LCY can only be based upon the principles of equality and independence of the republican organizations as well as on their voluntary association in the LCY, it is stressed in the stands. Democratic unity rather than democratic centralism, this is the organizing principle of the renewed LCY. It includes consensus on the program, statute, cadres (parity) and those issues related to national equality. No decisionmaking, not even at the level of the LCY Central Committee, can be exempted from this. This is one of the fundamental preconditons for any talks about a possible renewal"—it is underlined in the stands.

By proposing that the consultations about the renewal of the LCY's work be conducted by the presidents of the republican LCs, in order to create in this way the preconditions for a democratic solution to the existing situation and opportunity for including the LCY Central Committee Presidium and the LCY Central Committee in these efforts, the Croat LC Central Committee stresses that the LCY's work cannot be renovated without creating some crucial prerequisites. These "crucial prerequisites" are defined as 11 guidelines.

"We can accept—the Croat LC stresses—to work and share responsibility together with those people:

—who by their practices prove that they are committed to the economic reform, democracy, the equality of nations and nationalities, the AVNOJ-based principles of federation and a state with the rule of law;

—who unreservedly advocate Yugoslavia's joining Europe and Europe's approach to Yugoslavia;

—who verify their policy by holding democratic, pluralistic elections;

—who are for a unified Yugoslav market and against economic blockades;

—who advocate a higher, European quality of life for everyone and special concern for mothers, children, the disabled, old people, the unemployed, and the infirm;

—who are concerned about the environment and the ecological consequences of work and development;

—who campaign for equality among people and nations and against the spreading of hatred, violence, and national, cultural, and religious intolerance and political abuses by people;

—who advocate the abolition of verbal political offenses, the suspension of all political trials, the release of political prisoners, and the abolition of the death penalty;

—who respect internal party democracy and who are tolerant of their party comrades, and who elect leaderships in secret elections with several candidates, with nominations made freely;

—who reject the practice of differentiation and the mechanical transfer of political responsibility in imperiling people's professional existence;

—who oppose the outvoting of entire parts of the LCY and the establishment of a false unity in the LC by the imposition of one's own ideas on other people as the only possible and Yugoslav [solution]

At the end, the Croatian LC Central Committee stressed that these stances are not only the expression of the endeavors of the Croatian LC to generate new policy but are also in the interest of all parts of the LCY, because they show themselves to be the only possible policy in all countries which are abandoning the old model of socialism.

Croat LC CC Plenum Proceedings

LD2901041490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1311 GMT 28 Jan 90

[Excerpts] Zagreb, 28 Jan (TANJUG)—The Croat League of Communists [LC] Central Committee [CC], at a session today which was also attended by delegates of the Croat LC at the 14th League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY], adopted its assessments and stances in connection with the adjournment of the congress of Yugoslav Communists.

Ivica Racan, president of the Croat LC CC Presidium, in a brief introductory report, pointed out that there should be an analysis of the preparations for the 14th LCY Extraordinary Congress and also of the course of the congress itself, but that above all there should be an orientation toward the future and an answer to the question of where to go from here. It should be specified which efforts the LCY should make in order for the continuation of the 14th extraordinary congress to be possible. This means that all the preconditions for the congress' success must be ensured. It would, Racan says, be tragic if in continuing its work the same thing were to happen as in its first session.

Racan then explained that the united stance of the Croat LC delegates at the congress stemmed from the conclusions of the 11th Croatian LC Congress which were oriented toward democratic and reform-minded commitments. We are interested, Racan stressed, in seeing the congress succeed and in the LC being a vital force in the struggle for democratic socialism.

Ivica Racan then spoke about the reactions in the Croat LC after the adjournment of the congress in which support for Croat LC delegates at the congress, and their critical attitude vis-a-vis the preparations for and the course of the work of the congress, dominated.

However, objections were voiced that we should have been more resolute and militant, and there was also criticism of some of our proposals, including the one to adjourn the congress.

Our delegates, Ivica Racan repeated, were all united in implementing the course of the reforms. So I do not accept divisions in the Croat LC along national lines, Racan pointed out. We are not running away from the removal of doubts as to who is for the forces of reform and democracy and who is on an anti-reform and anti-democratic course. [passage omitted]

The majority of about 20 participants in this morning's discussion firmly supported the stands and conduct of the Croat LC delegates at the 14th LCY Extraordinary Congress. The central question in all discussions was how and for what reason to continue the LCY congress, but only on condition that it be successful. Yet another failure of an obviously unprepared congress must not be allowed to happen. [passage omitted]

[Passage omitted] Branko Horvat spoke on the latest events in Kosovo noting that the present situation there should be changed as it looks as if it will lead to a catastrophe. Horvat proposed a solution for Kosovo by introducing "a federal civil administration" which would prepare free elections in a year's time. Speaking about overcoming conflicts in the LCY, Horvat noted that Croatia could play a role of "an integrational center of Yugoslavia". In his words the only correct proposal for continuing the congress is that the presidents and presidia of republican organizations should open negotiations on the congress' continuation, which would take about 6 months. [passage omitted]

The Croat LC CC went on in a closed session, which lasted until late in the evening, to adopt the stances and assessments in connection with the adjournment of the 14th LCY Extraordinary Congress. The Croat LC CC believes that, for the purpose of creating the preconditions for the democratic emergence from the situation which has arisen, talks should be initiated on the renewal of the LCY's work, in which the presidents of the republican organizations of the LC and the LCY organization in the Yugoslav People's Army would take part.

At the same time, on the basis of today's stances of the Croat LC CC in connection with the adjournment of the LCY congress, the concrete standpoint was expressed that in the present situation a session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium cannot be held. Members of the LCY Central Committee Presidium from the Croat LC cannot take part in such a session, it was decided. If, however, a consultative meeting is convened in the LCY Central Committee Presidium, the president of the Croat LC CC Presidium, or rather someone specified by the Croat LC CC Presidium, will take part in it.